08585

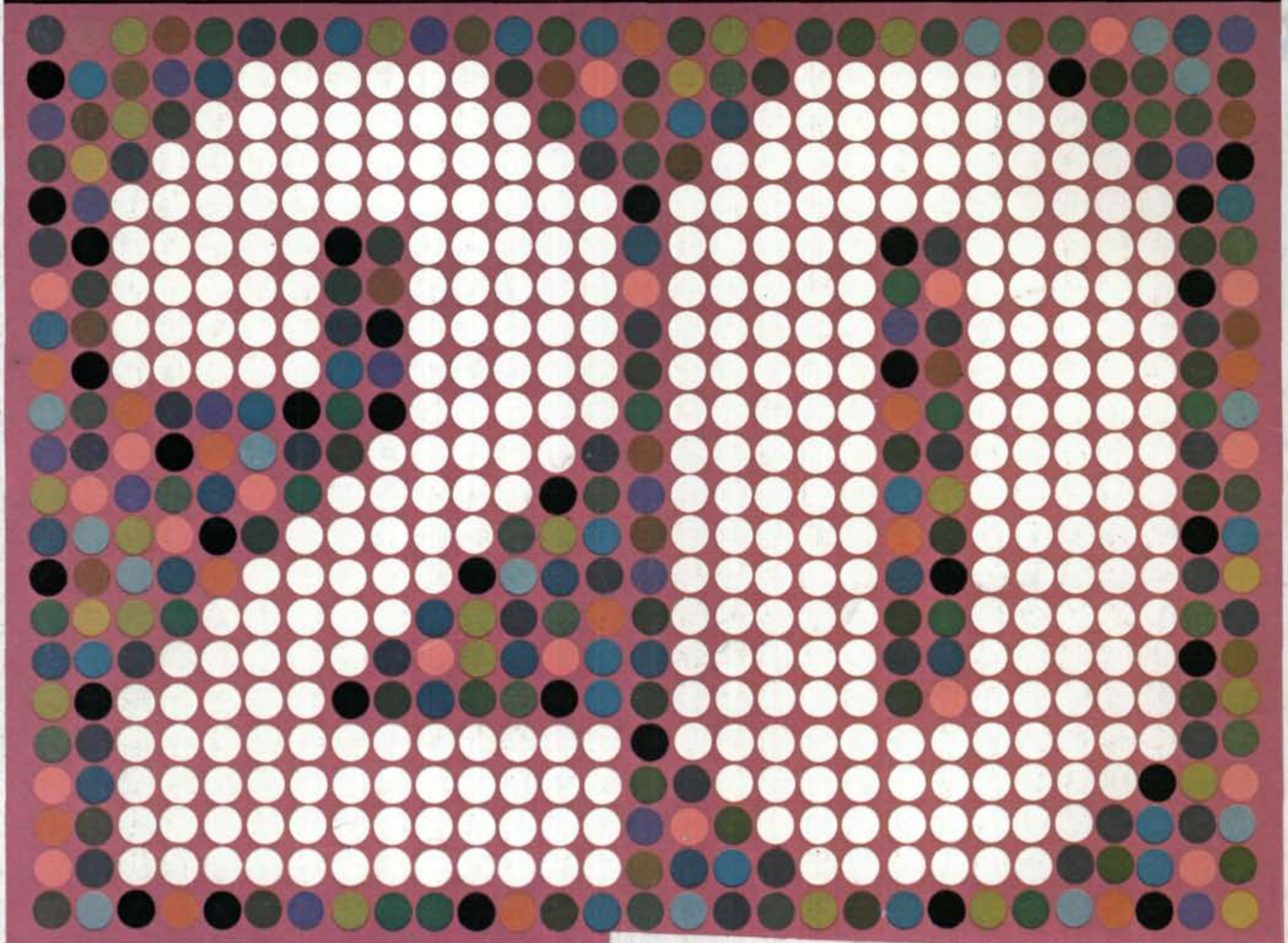
PRICE $1.50

20th Anniversary ISSUE

NATIONAL REVIEW

EXTRA:

THE NATIONAL REVIEW LECTURE BY MICHAEL OAKESHOTT • A PICTORIAL ESSAY OF A LONG DAY'S CELEBRATION • NR LAMPOONED BY D. KEITH MANO AND OTHERS • THE INSIDE STORY-PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY • ALSO JAMES BURNHAM • GEORGE F. WILL RUSSELL KIRK • ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN • WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER • JEFFREY HART • W. H. VON DREELE • DAVID BRUDNOY • HUGH KENNER • WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.



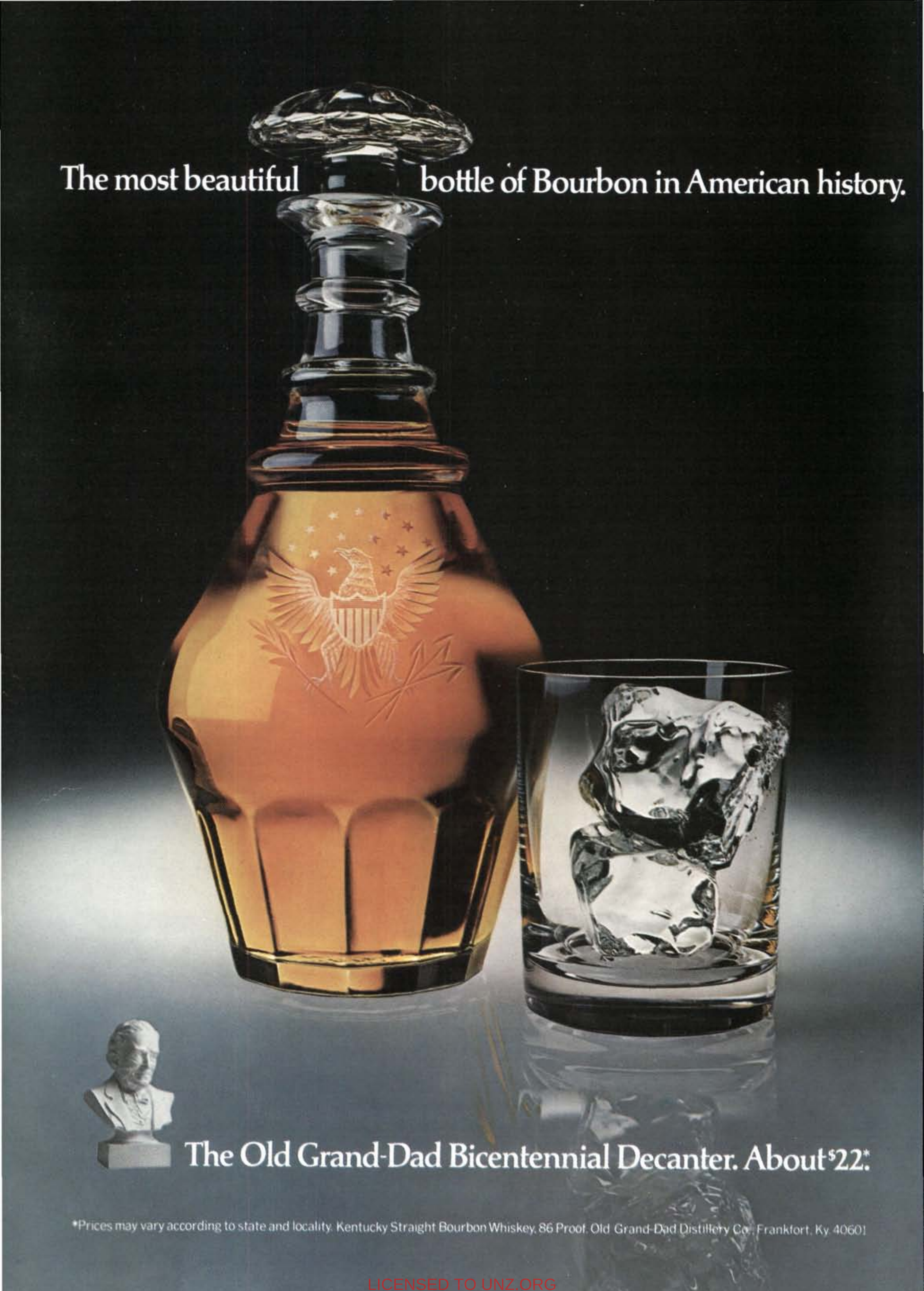
SPECIAL BO

The Conservative Intellectual America Since 1945

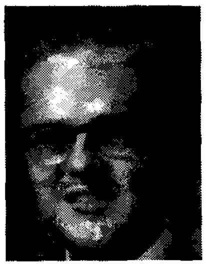
GEO

M SMTH779R- 026 7524 - 1 38 -

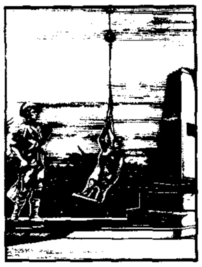
ROY E SMITH
PO BOX 1779
COLORADO SPGS CO 80901


The most beautiful bottle of Bourbon in American history.
The Old Grand-Dad Bicentennial Decanter. About $22.*
*Prices may vary according to state and locality. Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whiskey. 86 Proof. Old Grand-Dad Distillery Co., Frankfort, Ky. 40601

NR VOL. XXVII, NO. 47
DECEMBER 5, 1975
NATIONAL REVIEW


NASH
Page A-1

MANO
Page 1359


HART
Page 1410

RICKENBACKER
Page 1348

BUCKLEY
Page 1371

BRUDNOY
Page 1416

A SPEECH

1345 **Talking Politics**
"The conjunction of dreaming and ruling," Mr. Oakeshott wrote years ago, "generates tyranny." In this address, delivered at Hunter College on the occasion of *NR*'s twentieth anniversary, the great British political philosopher explores the nature of civil association—the relation of citizen to citizen—and articulates anew, for a confused generation, the proper disjunction of dreaming and ruling. *Michael Oakeshott*

A BOOK

A-1 **The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945**
An excerpt from a major book, to be published early next year, examines the rise of various strains of anti-liberal-statist thought that coalesced into a political force, with special attention to the role of NATIONAL REVIEW. *George H. Nash*

PARODIES REGAINED

1359 **NR: Special Harriet Van Horn Issue**
Sure we're venerable. But we're not at all stuffy about it, as witness this offering of parodies. When was the last time *The New Republic* or *Commentary* or *The Journal of Metaphysics* sent themselves up?

INSIDE NATIONAL REVIEW

1371 **Notes on a Twentieth Anniversary**
At last—a full inside report on the Byzantine doings of the last five years at *NR*: hoaxes, plots, stratagems, beheadings, weddings . . . with vivid photos. *Priscilla L. Buckley*

1373 **Happy Birthday to Us**
A gimlet-eyed self-inspection. *Christopher Buckley*

1379 **Where Are They Now?**
And a glance at the glittering galaxy of our former editorial assistants . . . *Priscilla L. Buckley*

Cover by James W. O'Bryan

NOTES & ASIDES

1380 A sampling from the broils and battles of our editor-in-chief, in single combat with Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and others.

THE PARTY

1385 A capacity crowd at the Plaza celebrates *NR*'s twentieth, hears master of ceremonies James Jackson Kilpatrick introduce (in heroic couplets) the Buckley brothers, Ronald Reagan, Barry Goldwater, Bill Rusher, and—David Frye. A picture spread.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

1410 **Doctor Hart's Political Survival Kit**
A small supply of books to stave off the gnostics until you can get Dante and Voegelin under your belt. *Jeffrey Hart*

1413 **The Jumbo Lustrum**
Art moves from world to world; our popular literature from surface to surface. *Hugh Kenner*

1416 **At Sea at the Cinema**
Five years and 983 films later, still an optimist. *David Brudnoy*

1420 **Books in Brief**
A selection from our reviews of these five years' books.

1322 **Letters**
1326 **For the Record**
1330 **The Week**
1341 **George F. Will**
1342 **James Burnham**
1348 **Wm. F. Rickenbacker**
1349 **E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn**
1352 **Russell Kirk**
1436 **On the Right**
1440 **Trans-O-Gram**

Photo spreads by Jan Lukas

NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*

William A. Rusher *Publisher*

James P. McFadden *Associate Publisher*

Editors
James Burnham/Jeffrey Hart

Priscilla L. Buckley *Managing Editor*
Daniel Oliver *Executive Editor*
Linda Bridges *Assistant Managing Editor*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*

Contributing Editors
W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton
James Jackson Kilpatrick
D. Keith Mano/Malachi B. Martin
Gerhart Niemeyer
William F. Rickenbacker
Francis Russell/M. J. Sobran Jr.
George F. Will

Associates
Carol B. Learsy
Kevin Lynch/Vicki Marani
Jane Buckley Smith
Timothy J. Wheeler

Robin Wu *Research Director*
James W. O'Bryan *Art Director*
Barbara A. Devlin *Production Editor*
John K. Syze *Circulation Manager*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Assistant Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / C. D. Batchelor
Ruth Berenson / Colm Brogan
David Brudnoy / John Chamberlain
Jack Chatfield / Miles Copeland
John R. Coyne Jr. / Guy Davenport
Neal Freeman
Victor Gold/John Greenway
Henry Hazlitt / Will Herberg
Elspeth Huxley
John Kiley / Suzanne La Follette
Vincent Miller / Ferdinand Mount
Alan Reynolds / Morrie Ryskind
William S. Schlamm / Ralph de Toledano
Charles Wallen Jr.
Chilton Williamson Jr.
Peter P. Witonski / Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Taki Theodoracopulos *Athens*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Nena Ossa *Santiago*

*

Letters

Soviet Camel

Michael S. Kelly's piece on the Apollo-Soyuz rip-off ["Who Is Detenting Whom?" Nov. 21] was nicely navigated, but could be summed up by commenting on the U.S. spacemen's backup computer. Kelly dwells on one point that others had mentioned only in passing: our boys carried as their second on-board computer a *pocket* device available on the open (free) market in the U.S. for only a few hundred dollars. That fact not only serves to compare, to the devastating disadvantage of the Soviets, their economic system and ours (for those who still have doubts on the subject), but also suggests how much technical information there was floating around up there. One hates to think how much the Soviets learned about our capabilities from this flight, or could learn from future "joint" efforts. Apollo-Soyuz was the camel getting his nose under de-tent.

New York, N.Y. ANDREW LOWIN

Slippery Fellow-Travelers

When I first read George Watson's "Were the Intellectuals Duped?" in *Encounter*, my main reaction was to wonder how old Mr. Watson is. He has made a case for a position, but it is a case that no one, I thought, old enough to have sat through an evening and argued face to face with a fellow-traveler of the 1930s could accept as plausible. Now that *NR* has reprinted the article [Nov. 7], I have read it again—and again I have found it totally unconvincing.

Mr. Watson starts from the premise that fellow-travelers were consistent and rational; if one demonstrates that they said X, it follows that they could not also believe non-X. But to say that is to deny the very essence of the species. By definition, a fellow-traveler believed in both democracy and totalitarianism, in both peace and violence, in both elections and Stalin, and so on through a whole range of social and political issues. Apart from Brecht, whom I take to be a simpler type (closer to a true Party official), the men that Mr. Watson quotes could be quoted also as saying the opposite. As they used to tell me when I got them, squirming and slippery, in a corner in which their self-contradiction could no longer be denied, I did not understand the dialectic. Nor did they, except as a last-ditch pardon for their total illogicality.

Mr. Watson ends his article with a series of steps leading to a fellow-traveler's acceptance of his faith: 1) Liberalism is dead. 2) Communism is fashion. 3) Communism will make a man of you. 4) Communism gets things done. 5) The individual no longer exists. 6) Violence is naive, simple, authentic. 7) Marxism means violence. Every one of these points except the second, cumulative factor in the equation applied no less well and perhaps better to fascism. Why then did Western intellectuals, apart from a few anomalous isolates, oppose fascism and embrace its twin? The answer, whatever it is, cannot be the series of characteristics shared by both wings of totalitarian thought and practice.

Columbus, Ohio WILLIAM PETERSEN

George Watson's admirable essay on the intellectual leftists of the Thirties has prompted me to offer an epigrammatic explanation of the recrudescence of this malaise among the New Leftists of the late Sixties. As an undergraduate at Columbia between the years of 1967 and 1971, I had ample opportunity to observe that: Communism is the anti-depressant of the pseudo-elite.

New York, N.Y. DEVEREAUX FULGROVE

Common Law and S-1

Apropos of Mr. Buckley's hilarious column ["Breaking In on Congress," Nov. 24] on burglars and the Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975 (hereinafter "S-1"), a few sober remarks. The first is that being federal law, S-1 would be applicable in federal jurisdictions only, e.g., some military bases, some Indian reservations, and all "islands, rocks, or keys containing deposits of guano that may, at the discretion of the President, be considered as appertaining to the United States." S-1 would not affect the average American householder, a datum not easily extracted from Mr. Buckley's introduction: "You hear a noise downstairs."

→

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except the first two issues in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn. © National Review, Inc. 1975.

Book Editor: George F. Will, 6683 32nd Place N.W., Washington, D.C. 20015; Articles: Daniel Oliver; Arts & Manners: M. J. Sobran Jr., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

Address all subscription mail, orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Manager, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

RATES: *$27.00 a year ($15.00 for the 48-page issues, and $12.00 for 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $3.00 for other foreign subscriptions.*
The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better a stamped, self-addressed envelope, is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the view of the editors.

Small was never this wide.

No other small car is as wide as our Pacer.

So naturally, you get an unusual amount of room.

And since it's wider—and has a unique isolated suspension system—the Pacer gives you an incredibly smooth and stable ride.

The Pacer has doors that are exceptionally wide. With a passenger door that's even wider than the driver's. So you can get in and out of the back that much easier.

(The Pacer also comes with AMC's proven 6-cylinder engine and a 22-gallon gas tank. Which means you get outstanding performance, excellent economy and long-distance driving range.)

Last but by no means least, the AMC Pacer, the first wide small car, is covered by the wide coverage: AMC's exclusive BUYER PROTECTION PLAN.®

AMC Pacer

The first wide small car.

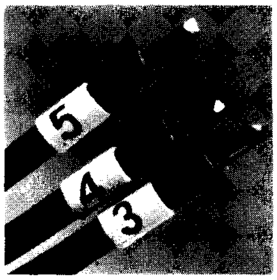
PACER X
AMC
RADIAL
GOODYEAR
POLYSTEEL

®BUYER PROTECTION PLAN is reg. U.S. Pat. and Tm Off.

Unmarked wires can be murder

Why tolerate unidentified killers when Brady wiremarkers change the entire picture so easily. And, give you a lead on today's strict OSHA requirements.

Brady is the foremost manufacturer of identification systems—and *the only complete producer of pressure-sensitive wire markers.*



We've already solved just about everything that's apt to worry you: clarity of marking ...ease of application...resistance to chemicals, solvents, grime and abrasion. You start out *knowing* Brady wire markers inherently meet OSHA, NEMA, NEC, JIC and military specifications. And, though their cost is small...their capacity to endure is very big indeed!

Write "Wire Marking Systems" W. H. Brady Co.,
2221 W. Camden Road,
Milwaukee, WI 53201.

the identification people BRADY®

W. H. BRADY CO. • EST. 1914
INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS DIVISION

WIRE MARKERS & ACCESSORIES • CUSTOM MADE MARKERS • PRE-CUT MASKS
TAPES & QUALITY SELF-STICKING IDENTIFICATION • DISTRIBUTORS WORLDWIDE

The second is that S-1 is not, as Mr. Buckley implies, a major departure from legal sanity (my working translation of his "rampant liberalism"). S-1 only codifies the law as it exists in several jurisdictions. The defendant householder is allowed to use deadly force if, in the language of S-1, "such force was reasonably required under the circumstances to protect the defendant or another person from risk of death or serious bodily injury." Now that is not the way I would have written it, but the point to remember is that the defendant has the benefit of the doubt: because it will be a criminal trial, the case against him must be a) proven "beyond a reasonable doubt," and b) proven before a jury, at whose heartstrings the defendant may tug, using Mr. Buckley's column.

On the problem of retreating to complete safety, S-1 says only: "The fact that the defendant could have avoided using deadly force by retreating, with *complete* safety to himself and others, is *a* circumstance to be considered *with all other circumstances* in determining whether such force is *reasonably* required" (my emphasis). Remember the prosecutor's burden of proof. He must show not only that the defendant was unreasonable (in thinking, e.g., that deadly force was required, or that he could not retreat with complete safety), but also that the defendant was unreasonable beyond a reasonable doubt.

Under S-1, if the castle-owner can make it to his cement bunker or bomb shelter, he is not allowed to take pot-shots at the widow stealing bread for her hungry children, the drunken neighbor staggering into the wrong house—or the Mafioso bagging his silver and gold. Nor is he allowed to shoot from, say, his upstairs bedroom window at someone he sees looting his barn. Not allowed, that is, to take the law into his own hands and execute, in whole or in part, the lawbreaker. That, more or less, is the common law rule. Mr. Buckley may not like the common law, but that is a different matter.

New York, N.Y. DANIEL OLIVER

Justice Everywhere

It may seem strange to many of your readers that one who likes to see himself as a staunch liberal should feel moved to appeal to a publication that proudly proclaims itself as conservative. However, my theme is liberty and independence (both personal and national), and from what I have regularly read in *NR* I would say my concerns, if not all my suggested remedies, are shared by many readers. By "liberal" I understand someone who is against tyranny and especially those benign despotisms of the bureaucrat and boss (of whatever organization or group) who wants to improve your life whether you want it improved or not. Mr. Robert Moss's "The Tribulation of Chile" [Oct. 10] made the point that criticisms of Chile are selective, in that other countries are not attacked for doing much the same sort of thing. I suspect that this attack on *selective indignation* is a worthy theme for *NR.*

I am thinking of helping to establish, in a modest manner, with modest means, an organization that will devote itself to just that theme: the exposure of phony, morally one-sided campaigns and the support of justice, independence, and freedom *everywhere*, not just in places that are politically faddish for, all too often, reasons that seem to be those of Soviet and/or Chinese foreign policy. The proposed organization would be called Liberals for Independence and Freedom Everywhere (LIFE). Should any of your readers feel that, at least in this sense, they would be proud to be associated with a liberal (in support of liberty), I would be glad if they would write to me at Box 11-1230, Bangkok, Thailand, so that we could get things started.

Bangkok SAM WOLF

Laurel Wreaths Entwine

Laurels, W. H. von D.,
Rest on you most worthily.
Your skill, your art, delight, amaze,
And merit my unstinted praise;
Such bays—not those of hound or beagle—
But tendered you by Mrs. Sigel.
Yet saddened I, to learn you rhyme
Your august name with "heel"—a *crime*,
For surely one should rhyme von Dreele
With (please forgive me) Norman Mailer,
But not—on this I strongly feel—
With
Yours sincerely,

Los Angeles, Calif. PETER PEEL

Out of This World

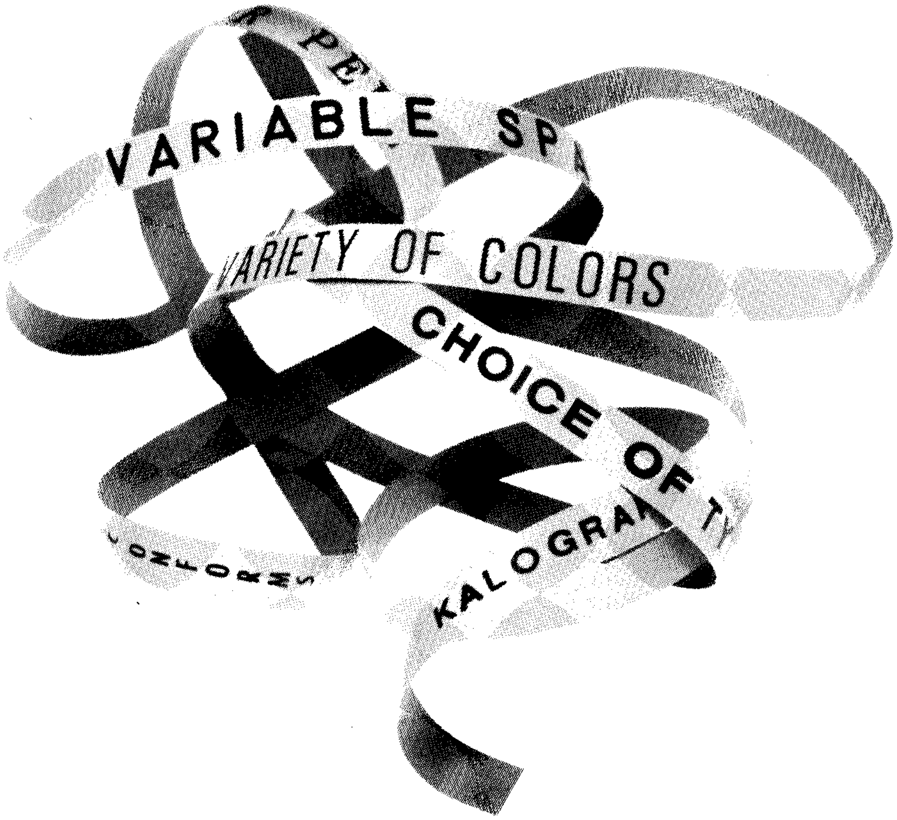
Thank you for another great Malachi Martin essay ["On Toying with Desecration," Oct. 10]. If Caesar does decide to say who should be ordained priests, maybe we can then bring an antitrust suit against the World Council of Churches as being the product of a horizontal merger aimed at reducing competition in the religion industry.

MALCOLM C. HARRIS
West Willington, Conn.

Malachi Martin's column "Karen Anne Quinlan's Calvary" [Nov. 24] raised some points very disturbing to those who had, with however many misgivings, believed she should have been allowed to die. He explains, for example, that the onlookers could easily transpose their own grief into a perception of the girl's suffering; that if you don't *know* whether she's "alive" or not, you can't take the chance of being wrong.

But these answers raise more questions: Martin writes eloquently of the soul's survival independent of the life-signs measurable by scientific instruments. And no one who holds religious convictions could

(Continues on page 1328)

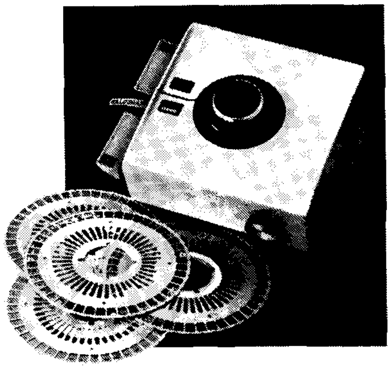


Thin, stick-to-anything labels print instantly with new photo process

Kalograph® photolabels give you everything you've been looking for in a multi-purpose label. You get a fast horizontal or vertical printing on photo-sensitive tape — just dial a character and press a lever. There is a choice of 21 different type faces and sizes. Plus a variety of tape widths and colors. You can also reproduce logos, special designs and symbols.

Thin, conformable and flexible, Kalograph photolabels stick tight like a second skin to all clean, dry surfaces. They apply fast with pressure-sensitive adhesive — won't snag, curl or pop off.

Kalograph phototape printing system provides a professional, low cost answer to all your identification needs. For complete details and a free demonstration in your office, write or call Kalograph Products — W. H. Brady Co., 727 W. Glendale Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53201 414/332-8100.



Dial and print — Kalograph labels with true proportional spacing are that easy to make. And you can change type styles in seconds.

the identification people

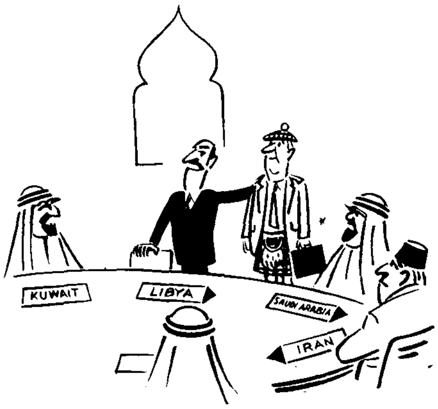
BRADY®
W. H. Brady Co. Est. 1914
KALOGRAPH PRODUCTS

© 1975 W. H. Brady Co. U.S. Patent Nos. 3,698,296 — 3,747,865 — 3,767,969

FOR THE RECORD

■ The word has gotten to **Gerald Ford**: those frantic campaign trips around the country aren't helping his image. White House aide **Jerry Jones** says Ford's trip to Georgia, a week before **Reagan** was to announce, was Ford's "last speech to a Republican fundraiser for a long time and maybe forever." . . . House Minority Whip **John Anderson** (Ill.), a liberal, is taking the Reagan threat seriously, has warned the President he'd better do so too. . . . **Barry Goldwater** still expects Ford to be the GOP candidate in '76 but, at National Press Club three days before Reagan was to declare, he dodged the question: Who do you think would be the strongest Republican candidate? . . . Goldwater, incidentally, says he thinks the Democratic choice will be **Humphrey**. . . . With **Rocky** out, liberal Republicans, looking for vice presidential fodder, are now pushing Connecticut Sen. **Lowell Weicker** (of **Ervin** committee fame). Weicker says he's not interested. He runs in Connecticut next year, and late polls show him leading probable Democratic opponent, State Secretary **Gloria Schaffer**, by 18 points.

■ On the Democratic side, it was a big week for former Georgia Gov. **Jimmy Carter**, who captured 67 per cent of the votes at the Florida Democratic presidential convention, as against 5 per cent for **George Wallace**. Should Carter beat Wallace in Florida—which was thought inconceivable a few months back—he could emerge as real contender. Going for Carter, say the pros, is the fact he is not associated in voters' minds with Washington, plus his energy. He has visited Florida 23 times in recent months, more than the other nine Democratic candidates combined. . . . Interesting poll of Democratic leaders (state chairmen, national committeemen) in *U.S. News* finds 59 per cent responding no to question: Do the Democrats need a Southerner on the ticket to help hold the South in 1976? But when asked who they thought would be the vice presidential candidate, they picked two Southerners, Jimmy Carter (41 per cent) and **Lloyd Bentsen** (20 per cent); 75 per cent of the Democratic pols also said they could not support a ticket with George Wallace on it. . . . Former civil rights activist **Charles Evers**, now mayor of Fayette, Miss., doesn't see it that way at all. Evers would like to see Wallace as Number Two on the Democratic ticket. "I've said it before and I'll say it again—give me a converted racist anytime over a lifelong liberal."



Punch Rothco

"As supporters of freedom movements among all subject peoples, we'd like to sponsor a new member of OPEC."

■ Is or is not **Donald Rumsfeld**, just confirmed as Secretary of Defense, a politician? Listen to his answer when asked if he would run for Vice President next year. "It would be really presumptuous of me," said Rumsfeld, "to stand up and take myself out of consideration for something I am not being considered for." While confirming Rumsfeld overwhelmingly (95 to 2), the Senate also adopted by voice vote a resolution praising his predecessor, **James Schlesinger**. . . . Over a hundred House members, including Majority Whip **Tip O'Neill** and firm conservatives **Bob Bauman**, **John Ashbrook**, **Jack Kemp**, **Marjorie Holt**, have signed a letter expressing their "sincere regret and distress" at Secretary Schlesinger's ouster from the Defense post. . . . Senate won't confirm **George Bush** until after the New Year, according to insiders on the Hill, and maybe not even then. Move, spearheaded by Majority Leader **Mike Mansfield** and Majority Whip **Robert Byrd**, is gaining headway to make Bush renounce vice presidential ambitions for '76 as price of confirmation. Byrd, who opposes politicization of the nation's intelligence agencies, led the successful drive to prevent **Patrick Gray** from getting the FBI directorship under **Nixon**.

■ Momentum gathering in Washington for a constitutional amendment to ban the busing of schoolchildren for the purpose of desegregation. Sen. **James Allen** (D., Ala.) thinks such a constitutional amendment has "a reasonably good chance" of getting through Congress now. . . . In the House, the Republican Policy Committee has adopted a resolution calling for a constitutional amendment if it becomes clear that Congress itself cannot pass an effective ban on busing. Rep. **Olin Teague** (D., Tex.) had placed on the agenda a resolution directing the House Judiciary Committee to report on a constitutional amendment within thirty days. . . . But the House, under the leadership of Speaker **Carl Albert**, tabled it, despite sentiment around the nation for a constitutional amendment. **Gallup** says 72 per cent of Americans favor it.

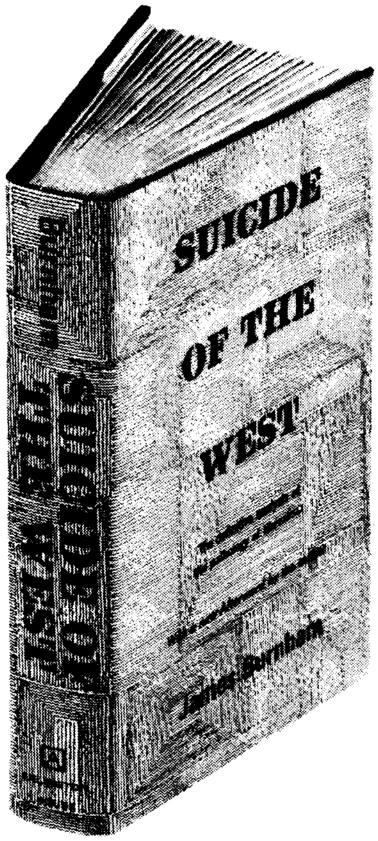
■ Watergater **Jeb Stuart Magruder** complains that the profits of his new book have been eaten up by legal expenses, confesses his bemusement: "It's still a little difficult for me to understand why it costs $100,000 to plead guilty."

Advertisement

The most searching (and prophetic) analysis of the pathology of Liberalism ever put to paper

BACK IN PRINT —with a new Afterword by the author

320 pages • Index



THIS IS THE BOOK that dissects Liberalism deep down to its rotten core...as no book ever has. Thanks to Burnham's insights, we finally see that strange amalgam of self-righteousness, guilt, arrogance, double standard, good intention, selective indignation, selective compassion and fuzzy logic that forms the mind and psychology of the Liberal.

We see, too, why the Liberal cannot rule ...why our country and the West are, under the Liberals, bent on suicide. It is hopeless to try to do justice here to the richness in these pages. We offer just a few hints—painfully aware that our hints don't begin to prepare you for the intellectual excitement in store:

- Why Liberalism is the ideology of suicide.
- The common ancestors of Liberalism and Communism.
- Why Liberals sneer at patriotism.
- Very precisely: how Liberalism lies at the root of race riots, murderous taxes, national surrender and the crime explosion—and why Liberals are helpless to do anything about their own follies.
- Why Liberalism clashes with Christianity.
- The inner drives that impel Liberals to war on the Right—while giving the Left an ever-so-gentle tap on the wrist, at worst.
- EXTRA! Burnham's fascinating "39 Articles of Liberalism," an intriguing test that you, or anyone, can take to determine your "ideological quotient." You'll be astonished at how accurately it pinpoints anyone's political slant.

Enthusiasm for this modern classic is shared by critics all across the political spectrum:

"If any book may rouse the friends of order, justice and freedom to intelligent action against the grim enemies of civilization, Mr. Burnham has given us just such an instrument."—Russell Kirk

"Should prove to be one of the significant works of our times."—*Minneapolis Tribune*

"Masterly analysis of the liberal ideology." —*Baton Rouge Sunday Advocate*

"A fascinating and frightening book...ought to be required reading for every American." — *Pensacola News-Journal*

"Mr. Burnham's thesis with respect to what now passes as 'liberalism' in political philosophy seems to me entirely sound, also his analysis of the cause and consequences."—Arthur Krock

"Expounds with corrosive clarity the right-wing case...a powerful enough document to confirm Mr. Kennan's worst fears...I am sure that the gravest mistake we can commit is to underrate the importance of his attack on liberal thinking and liberalism in government."—R. H. S. Crossman, *Partisan Review*

"Despite the fact that James Burnham's *Suicide of the West* has not been given the attention it merits, it will find its way and make history. It is brilliantly written, clearly reasoned, and remarkably restrained, given the subject matter: the sickness of Western civilization and its causes...

"No one who reads this book as carefully as it deserves can escape the conviction that we are at a point in our history where we must make an agonizing decision to survive or perish. We are far along on the dangerous path but there is still time to turn back. Even Mr. Burnham himself says 'the final collapse of the West is not inevitable; the report of its death would be premature. If a decisive change comes, if the contraction of the past 50 years should cease and be reversed, then the ideology of liberalism will fade away.'...

"It is a matter of will power. Do we have enough left among the non-Liberals who put the United States above the United Nations—who believe Western civilization and ethics are superior to the barbarism and atheism of communism?"—Irene Corbally Kuhn, *Christian Economics*

"I hope a great many people will read it, particularly those who will disagree with it vociferously. They'll never be quite so smug again."—John Dos Passos

"Fascinating...'must' reading for our time." —*Albuquerque Tribune*

"James Burnham has written a book about Liberalism for which the world has been aching. It is worth more to the West than the year's gross national product, more than all our planes and bombs—with all of these, we have still been losing out in the world. But this book is not only a pathologist's report. It gives the key for the recovery of the West... It requires superb powers of synthesis to take hold of such diverse phenomena as these and dozens of others and demonstrate how they all relate to a particular and identifiable social philosophy or world view. Moreover, the demonstration of their interrelatedness is not made by legerdemain. Mr. Burnham does not pull any cute tricks, for the benefit of making quickie debaters' points. He has done a job which is the ultimate tax on the intellectual talents of an individual who addresses himself to strategic organization: he has delved into myriad disorderly data and come up with a synthesis. Moreover, one which will appeal to the reader (twenty thousand of them already, according to the publisher, and only three weeks after publication) as a work of cogency and plausibility, and of such timeliness as to add up to revelation."—William F. Buckley, Jr.

WHAT ABOUT TOMORROW?

In his new Afterword, James Burnham attacks the ultimate question:

Is our decline inevitable?

His words are sobering. His clues about the shape of things to come are tantalizing.

Mr. Burnham also shows how the Liberal ideology prepares us to crumble before the four great challenges of the 1970s:

✓ terrorism
✓ detente
✓ Arab oil
✓ Vietnam

The fourfold collapse of the Liberals underscores and updates the brilliant Burnham thesis.

SAVE $7.95

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB
165 Huguenot Street, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801

Please send FREE **Suicide of the West** by James Burnham and accept my membership in the Conservative Book Club—*the only book club expressly for political conservatives. I agree to buy 3 books from among the more than 150 to be* offered in the next 15 months, after which I may resign at any time. I will be offered books on politics, investing, social issues, religion, economics, conservative ideas, Communism, history, etc. Membership entitles me to a free subscription to the Club Bulletin, which brims with news of interest to conservatives. I am eligible to buy Club books at discounts of 20% to 89% plus shipping. If I want the monthly Selection I do nothing; it will come automatically about one month later. If I don't want the Selection, or I prefer one of the Alternates, I merely inform you on the handy form always provided. I'll be offered a new Selection every 4 weeks—13 times a year. NR-574

NAME ____________________

ADDRESS ____________________

CITY/STATE ____________________ ZIP ________

☐ I don't care to join the Club but I enclose $7.95 for **Suicide of the West.** Please send postpaid. 30-day return privilege.

Not every Chardonnay bears our distinctive French nose.

Swirl it in your glass. Sniff. The nose tells you this is Almadén, an authentic Chardonnay with the decidedly French "fresh apple" aroma.

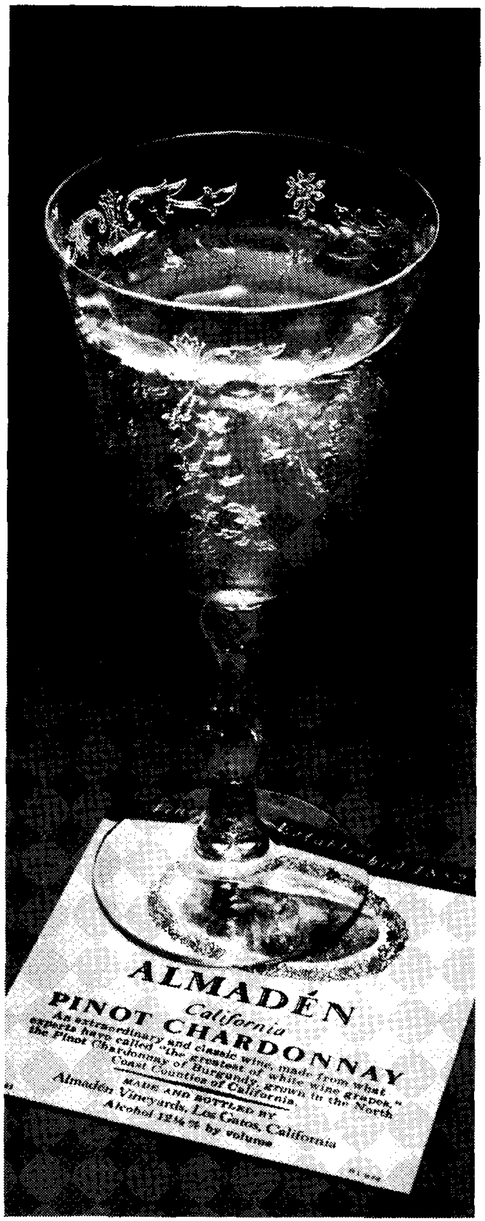
Truly it is the ultimate in still white wines, for our Pinot Chardonnay originates from the same grape that even now creates the most expensive white wines of France.

A shy, temperamental grape that does poorly in most areas, the proud Pinot Chardonnay matures to glorious perfection on the sunny hillsides within the Almadén region of Northern California. Here it produces a golden fresh wine, a rare joy to be sipped and studied, not merely swallowed.

Almadén Pinot Chardonnay. It bears a lesson one never tires of learning.

Only a fine grape can produce a fine wine.

Almadén


ALMADÉN
California
PINOT CHARDONNAY
An extraordinary and classic wine, made from what experts have called "the greatest of white wine grapes," the Pinot Chardonnay of Burgundy, grown in the North Coast Counties of California.
MADE AND BOTTLED BY
Almadén Vineyards, Los Gatos, California
Alcohol 12½ % by volume

Almadén Vineyards, Los Gatos and Paicines, California

LETTERS

(Continued from page 1325)

disagree with him there. But if the body no longer provides any communication between the soul and the world, mightn't Karen Anne be as far beyond the help of the machines as she is beyond the measurements of the instruments?

We don't know enough about these things; and maybe, not knowing enough, we have no right to suggest that such a person be allowed to die. But that might be as much a "facile opinion"—comforting to those who hold it, since they could not then be at all responsible for a death—as the opinion of those who would end the victim's suffering partly because they want to end theirs. Now that science has discovered means to keep single organs, separated from a body, "alive" for years, we do indeed, as Martin says, have to "determine when this spirit no longer *informs* the body."

Chicago, Ill. JULIE WILCOX

Ford vs. the Waltons

I think George F. Will is optimistic (though I don't know if he means to be) when he says that the nation has "matured," and is tired of watching political candidates on television. ["Tuning Out," Nov. 7]. Sure, it bodes ill for them but not, I think, for us. The less campaigning there is, the lower the level of rhetoric—the less the citizens' passions are inflamed by the very people who should damp down inflammatory rhetoric.

That rhetoric is what helped make the Sixties such a disaster. The people would, says Mr. Will, rather watch televised entertainment than televised politicians—but that may be only because the level of warfare in the fictional drama is higher. I guess I hope Mr. Reagan can dramatize his case—I know I wish him victory at the polls—but I hope also that he can be successful dramatizing it at the lowest possible level.

New York, N.Y. DANIEL STONEWATER

Luce, Sí; Coalition, No

After reading Ernest van den Haag's adventure into the politics of pseudo-realism *à la* Hans Morgenthau and Henry Kissinger ["Coalition in Italy?" Nov. 7], I poised my pen to issue the warnings which Ambassadress Clare Boothe Luce has put in "the case against it." Needless to say, being a connoisseur of Italy and a superb writer, she did a much better job than I could have dreamt of doing. If not for my emeritus status (at Yeshiva University) I would have made her article "required reading."

But even this peculiar status permits me to raise the question: Why doesn't NATIONAL REVIEW come out for Clare Boothe Luce as President of the U.S.A.?

Unlike all our former Presidents, unlike the unfortunate resident of the White

(Continues on page 1432)

Out come the cleaned gases

Away goes the collected dust

. . . thanks to a pollution control system that can collect 150 tons of dust daily

Basic oxygen furnaces are one of the most efficient steelmaking systems in the world. But BOFs generate tremendous quantities of dust-laden gases.

How to remove the dust from the gases—and prevent it from discharging into the atmosphere?

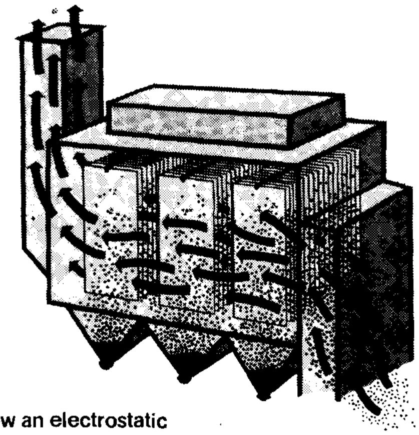
When we installed the two BOFs at our Bethlehem, Pa. plant, we also installed electrostatic precipitators at a cost of almost $5 million. These precipitators operate at higher than 99 per cent efficiency for dust particles over a wide range of micron sizes.

Every time we make a heat of steel in one of these furnaces, the precipitator removes about 5 tons of dust from the exhaust gases. At peak operation of 30 heats a day, that can add up to some 150 tons daily . . . approximately 50,000 tons annually. The cleaned gases are discharged through a stack.

What do we do with the iron-bearing dust particles we collect? We form them into pellets and recycle them through the ironmaking process.

Our environmental program is a continuing one. In the past 5 years alone, Bethlehem has spent about $130 million for environmental protection and pollution control equipment. We expect to spend more than $600 million for such equipment during the next 5 years. In addition, about 12 per cent of the initial cost of pollution control facilities is required to operate them each year.

Bethlehem BETHLEHEM STEEL



How an electrostatic precipitator works

Dust particles are collected by passing dust-laden gas between negative electrodes and grounded metal collecting plates. The dust, which has been charged by negative electrical charges emitted from the electrode, is attracted to and retained at the positive collecting surface. From time to time an automatic rapping system knocks the accumulated dust into storage hoppers.

A "Statement on Environmental Quality" explains our concern for and contributions to a more healthy environment both now and in the future. If you would like a copy, write: Public Affairs Dep't., Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Bethlehem, PA 18016.

THE WEEK

■ Unsmilingly noted: The Federal Government is lending one million dollars to Santa Claus, Indiana.

■ Yet once more the Supreme Court will turn to an issue involving schools, always somehow at the center of our great social controversies. The Court will have to decide whether private schools may discriminate on the basis of race in their admission policies. The entanglements between the states and most of the private schools have been kept to a bare minimum by the schools, a fact that minimizes or negates any claim that the schools' actions are really state actions. If they were they would be governed by the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits discrimination by the states but does not, in theory, apply to private individuals or groups. Are private schools, discriminating on the basis of race, private associations entitled to constitutional protection under the First Amendment? Or are they institutions whose policies, because they bring back badges and incidents of slavery, are banned by the Thirteenth Amendment and enforcement legislation passed under it? The Court has held that a private club may exclude people from membership solely on the grounds of race. But it has also held that a private individual may not refuse to sell his house solely on the grounds of the purchaser's race. Whether private schools fit into one or the other of those categories or into an entirely different one is an important question Mr. Ford's appointee will have to join in answering.

■ FLASH: "What is needed, according to Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame, is a new study of amnesty." Mary McGrory, November 17

■ George Wallace has made it official, and can you name the other nine announced Democrats? It is refreshing to hear a Democrat denouncing the "ultra-liberal exotic left-wing few" who have usurped the place of "the great middle class of Americans," and he will generate within his party (while he remains within it, at least) a salubrious scramble to the right. Nevertheless, however unobjectionable he may be at the literal level, his public character, style, and appeal, though muted, remain what they always were. Wallace cannot broaden his appeal as long as there is someone else to represent what is reasonable in his position. Most people sense that he is fitter for a mutineer than a ruler.

■ Overheard in a London pub: Elliot Richardson, bag permanently packed by his side, saying, "You don't have to be Jewish to like being on the Supreme Court."

■ The EPA is giving its earnest attention to the reckless pollution associated with cows. The Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1972 gives the EPA jurisdiction over streams and, by natural extension, over feedlots, which means it is regulating manure. It is not easy to regulate manure. Cows are not known for social awareness and responsibility. However, the EPA is equal to the challenge, and has drawn up waste disposal regulations that will only cost the farmer with fewer than a hundred head $97.70 per cow. The comments about all this in the farm community are rather colorful, and perhaps we'd better not quote them.

■ Representative Wayne L. Hays (D., Ohio) may soon be known as Wayne the Giant Killer, for he has devised a piece of "reform" legislation that will put the Federal Election Commission squarely under his thumb. The Federal Election Commission is a body of men who make rules under the Watergate-spawned Campaign Reform Act designed to curb certain practices of politicians. Practices such as maintaining "slush funds," by which many congressmen, as a matter of fact, supplement the government allotment for running their offices. Under the current law, regulations drafted by the Commission go into effect in thirty days unless Congress rejects them. But rejection is a cumbersome procedure, and can make members who favor it easy targets of ridicule. Much less embarrassing is the proposed Hays method, which would make such regulations effective only after approval by both Houses of Congress—and which would allow Mr. Hays, as chairman of the House Administration Committee, to bottle up the regulations: forever. Thus, at the same time the broader constitutional issues of the Campaign Reform Act are being considered by the Supreme Court, the nitty-gritty practical implications are being considered—reconsidered—by Congress, and will probably be rejected.

■ Conservatives have long sensed that the American people have been left seasick by the political upheavals and ambitions of the Sixties. Now comes pollster Lou Harris to tell us that the public prefers "seriously trimming their material life styles" to further cycles of double-digit inflation and unemployment—the margin of preference being a whopping 77 to 8 per cent. It remains for Republicans to hammer home the point that the Democrats' missionary state has become the great destabilizer of everyday life in America.

■ It won't be "U.S. out of the UN and UN out of the U.S." over the vote equating Zionism with racism, but the General Assembly's latest idiocy has triggered reactions that could, in the long run, cut the world body down to size. There's talk in Congress today (among non-conservatives, mind you) of cutting off "voluntary" contributions—$186 million annually (Senator Richard

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

The President Ford Committee says it will emphasize five primaries: Illinois (March 16), North Carolina (March 23), New York and Wisconsin (April 6), Pennsylvania (April 27). Ronald Reagan will be looking for a quick knockout in three primaries—New Hampshire (Feb. 24), Florida (March 9), and North Carolina. So the North Carolina primary will be the first in which both candidates admit that they are going all-out. Already the primary is splitting the state GOP. Governor James Holshouser is backing Mr. Ford and Senator Jesse Helms is backing Reagan.

■ The betting here is that George Bush will not be confirmed by the Senate as Director of the CIA, at least not unless he says he will not accept the vice presidential nomination in 1976. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield wants such a disavowal. And Majority Whip Robert Byrd of West Virginia, the best vote-counter in the Senate, says the same thing.

■ Four liberal Democratic presidential candidates—Birch Bayh, Morris Udall, Fred Harris, and (stop giggling!) Milton Shapp—have asked the New York State legislature to change the date of the New York primary. The primary is scheduled for April 6. They want it moved to June 8. The four say they want the primary moved in order to save New York City money. They say the state is planning to hold a separate primary for state offices in September, at a cost of $4 million to the city and $5.5 million to the rest of the state, so it should compromise on a single primary in June. But the real reason they want the primary moved to June is that they are afraid Henry Jackson may do well in April, and they are afraid of the kind of momentum an early victory might give to the Jackson campaign.

■ The gulf between Ronald Reagan and Barry Goldwater widened when Goldwater went to the National Press Club to defend President Ford's move to the right. Goldwater derided the idea that Mr. Ford is moving right as a result of pressure from Reagan. He said Ford is moving in response to "aroused public opinion." Goldwater went on to challenge liberal Republicans to field their own candidate: "I urge them to do it and we'll take care of that candidate at the Republican convention in Kansas City next summer." The effect of Goldwater's remarks was to emphasize that Ford is conservative enough for him, and to suggest that the only challenge to Ford that makes sense is a challenge from the Left.

■ Fred Harris wants a kiss from Typhoid Mary. Harris is anxious for the endorsement of Congressman Michael Harrington. Harris thinks it will give him a leg up on the rest of the boys in the primary in Harrington's home state—Massachusetts. Harrington has not endorsed anyone yet. Perhaps he has been too busy fending off his angry House colleagues who still want a piece of his scalp to punish him for leaking classified intelligence information that he had sworn he would not leak.

■ What difference does it make that Sargent Shriver is the only Catholic in the field of Democratic presidential candidates? Probably not much, but it could make a marginal difference early, when marginal differences matter. Former Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter has been planning to do well in New Hampshire, and thus to gain momentum for his showdown (as Carter bills it) with George Wallace in Florida. To do that he must do well with the (slightly) conservative New Hampshire Democrats. But most of them are Catholics.

■ Say it ain't so, Mom! Tessie Greenglass, mother of convicted spy Ethel Rosenberg, told the FBI (shortly after Ethel was executed in June 1953) that she thought Ethel was guilty—"guilty and a soldier of Stalin." So says an FBI memorandum written in August 1953.

■ After Mr. Ford's several explanations on how and why he fired Defense Secretary Schlesinger and CIA Director Colby, one question remains. If Mr. Ford really did decide it all in his own mind, and told nobody, who leaked the plans to *Newsweek*? —CATO

Stone, liberal Democrat), of reviewing U.S. participation in the General Assembly (Senator Glenn Beall, moderate Republican), of exploring changes in the structure and voting arrangements of the UN (Senator Charles Mathias, liberal Republican).

■ It couldn't have happened to a nicer guy: the dismissal of Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam by the royal Governor-General, whom, until that moment, everyone had regarded about as seriously as the royal swans in the park. The dismissal came when the Senate (controlled by a coalition of the conservative Liberal and Country Parties) refused to pass a money bill sent it by the House of Representatives (controlled by Whitlam's Labor Party). With that bill blocked, Australia's government would simply have ground to a halt by the end of November. Besides inflation and unemployment, there have been scandals in the Whitlam government in recent months, and Whitlam's anti-Western foreign policies and aggressive socialism have tended to polarize the country. There will now be a full election on December 13, enlivened by debates over the propriety of the sacking and widespread anger at the Labor Party's union supporters for their strikes and demonstrations. The polls now put the Liberal-Country coalition ahead, but it will be a close race—perhaps close enough to produce the same deadlock in reverse.

■ As Angola's independence day approached, the Soviet ambassador in Kampala asked Idi Amin to recognize the Soviets' client in Angola, the Communist MPLA. Amin instantly demanded that Leonid Brezhnev send, within 48 hours, a high-level official to apologize for this interference. If Brezhnev did not, he, Amin, would break off diplomatic relations. The Soviet response was to break off relations pre-emptively (and temporarily: a week later they restored them, without explanation). Undaunted, Amin said he would have taken stronger action if the ambassador's message had been written. Since it was delivered orally, he would assume that the ambassador had merely taken "an overdose of vodka."

■ All hail to Chairman Mao on the twentieth anniversary of his instruction entitled: "Strive to Run Broadcasting Well to Serve the People of China and the Whole World." The program has been a howling success. There are now in China 106 million wired loudspeakers (in 70 per cent of peasant homes, in 92.7 per cent of work units) which, from 5:30 A.M. to 9:30 P.M.—every day—carry editorials from *Jenmin Jih Pao*, the party paper, and from *Hung Chi*, the party journal; lectures on production; criticism of local officials; disquisitions on the crimes of Lin Piao, Confucius, the running dogs of imperialism, and the revisionist Brezhnev clique; Thoughts of Chairman Mao. Wired broadcasting, say Chinese authorities, is cheaper than radio and more effective. A radio you can turn off.

■ The FDA is so busy it just hasn't had time to approve a new drug that could relieve the pain endured by millions suffering from arthritis. Mr. Richard D. Wood, chairman of the Eli Lilly Co., told a gathering in Indiana that the drug has been thoroughly tested and available for several years, and that the FDA has 100,000 pages of scientific data on the testing. But after thinking about it for four months, the FDA has only managed to conclude that the data should be on tapes for a computer.

■ Today's reading is from the Book of Bureaucracy, Volume 44, Chapter 29, Subchapter M, Page 28, Verse 167: And it came to pass that in the city of Indianapolis a certain bureaucrat was convicted of bribery and tax evasion, and dismissed from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. And lo, it was discovered that he was then employed as manager of ten HUD-subsidized apartments. A reporter for a newspaper did then call the HUD office on the phone, asking: Can a former HUD official hold a HUD-related job while on probation for bribery? And the HUD office, though sorely vexed, did promise an answer within four or five days. But when that time had passed, it still had no answer. Why? the reporter asked. And the Indianapolis HUD official replied that he had to talk to Chicago HUD officials who had to talk to Washington HUD officials who had to make the decision and tell the Chicago HUD officials who would tell him, and verily there would be an answer in a month or so. This puzzled the reporter mightily, and he asked, Why not just call Washington? And the HUD official explained that that is not permitted without contacting Chicago first. And we know not the answer to this day.

■ The equal rights movement got another boost when police in Cincinnati arrested two go-go dancers, aged 20 and 24, for public indecency. Both were men.

■ For those burdened with the guilt of the world, slumped, heavy with care, in front of their oak-paneled fireplaces, there is to be no relief: the crisis the world now faces is a shortage of firewood.

■ A research scientist at the University of Michigan has discovered that Americans seem relatively satisfied with their lives, particularly if they don't know any better. Glad that's taken care of.

■ Did you know that Richard Rovere doesn't believe, in his heart of hearts, that it is wrong, in political or military conflict, to use torture and physical terror?

Enter Ronald Reagan

We close this issue on the eve of the expected announcement of Ronald Reagan's entry into the presidential race. We cannot, accordingly, analyze his opening statement, or even predict its nature. No doubt he will make specific recommendations. On the assumption that they are consistent with his well-known predilections, it is unlikely that the editors of this journal will disagree with the broad purposes they seek to serve. Mr. Reagan is a man of honor, courage, and intelligence, and a long-time friend of this journal. He is in our judgment doing the correct thing, and the Republic, and the Republican Party, should benefit from it. We shall, needless to say, be giving intensive coverage to his campaign in the weeks to come.

UN Vote: A Western Plus?

Though the 72 to 35 UN vote equating Zionism with racism was a moral, intellectual, and even aesthetic outrage, it may in the long run turn out to be a kind of paradoxical plus for the West.

The UN attack on Zionism was widely and correctly perceived as a political attack on Israel by her Communist and Third World enemies. It remains an existential truth, however, that, for most intellectual and even educated Westerners, Israeli nationalism is now the only morally respectable form of nationalism remaining in the West (Israel being, despite geography, a Western state). The "enlightened" conscience is characteristically universalistic, except where Israel is concerned, and there it remains particularistic. This attitude is pervasive, extending far beyond Western Jews. In the media, Israeli national interests receive much more realistic treatment than U.S. or NATO nations' interests. The U.S. Congress is much less skeptical about Israeli arms requests than about requests from the Pentagon. The *New York Times* and indeed the press across the nation reacted much more vociferously against the Zionism vote than against any UN vote inimical to U.S. interests, let alone those of an ally like Taiwan.

The Zionism vote, therefore, will very likely produce a series of highly desirable consequences.

It certainly demonstrates the persistence of conflict,

Is your backyard pool as dangerous as the Amazon?

“Actually your pool can harbor millions of menacing beasts that you can’t even see. Bacteria. These bacteria can upset your stomach, make your eyes itch, your throat sore, or much worse.

That’s where Olin comes in. Olin is an undisputed leader in the pool chemical business. Olin water scientists have helped cities with their drinking water supplies. When Boston’s beaches were almost closed due to pollution, Olin solved the problem. When Nicaragua was crippled by an earthquake and threatened with typhoid and cholera, Olin chemicals were flown in.

Olin has been pioneering water treatment for a long time. In 1928, we introduced HTH® Dry Chlorine, the largest selling dry chlorine in the world. Olin chemicals are used in reservoirs, swimming pools, wells, and sewage disposal plants. We’re confident that we can analyze any water in the world. And get rid of anything unpleasant in it, with the possible exception of crocodiles.”

says **Olin**

and will raise consciousness in that regard. Enlightened, progressive opinion tends to regard conflict as illusory, a mistake of some sort. But Israel really *is* embattled. The brotherhood of man is not at hand. Nor will it be possible for enlightened opinion to sell Israel down the river, as it did South Vietnam. The military-industrial complex may even enjoy a modest recovery of prestige. After all, in order to send Israel Phantom jets and Hawk missiles, you first have to produce them. People like George McGovern and Teddy Kennedy may begin to hear from some of their important backers in this connection.

The Zionism vote will fracture the Left, particularly in the United States. Much of the Left is pro-Third World, but much of it is fiercely pro-Israel. Axiomatically, anything that splits the Left is a tactical plus. Nor is it easy to see how this split can be healed in the near future. It will be fascinating to see how such organizations as the World Council of Churches handle this one. Eleanor Roosevelt, thou shouldst be living at this hour. Chester Bowles, where art thou?

With the single exception of Rumania, the Communist nations voted unanimously against Israel. Heretofore, enlightened opinion has been relatively indifferent to Communist influence, Communist expansion, and Communist-sponsored political ploys. South Vietnam? Poof! A Marxist Chile? Poof! What of it? But Israel is a different matter. Its "right to exist" is a kind of metaphysical absolute, perhaps the last remaining one. The Communists and their radical nationalist allies have offended grievously against this absolute. Another blow to detente, and another plus.

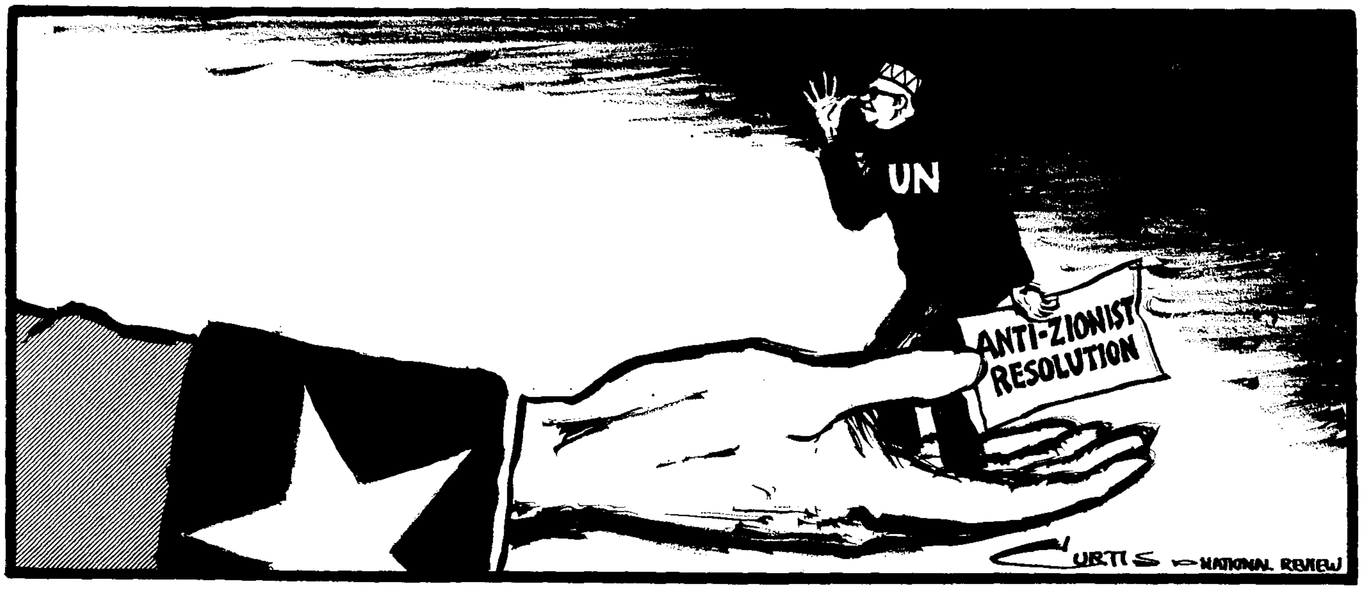
The final shreds of illusion about the UN as the last best hope of man have now been stripped away. Can the heart of even such as Norman Cousins continue to go pit-a-pat as the blue UN banner goes up the flagpole? Not likely. The destruction of illusion is always a desirable thing. And since the UN, among the enlightened and progressive, has always been thought of as superseding Western nationalism, its moral demise may even presage a revival of Western national consciousness. And *that* would not be a bad thing.

Therefore, beyond the fury and the protest aroused by the Zionism vote, that was not a bad day for the West, coldly considered; not a bad day at all. And, who knows, if Israel figures in a rebirth and transformation of the Western spirit, well, that happened once before—and it would be a fitting occurrence as the West approaches its bi-millennial celebration.

Zap Zarb

Congressional Democrats have come up with an anti-energy bill that is motivated by political considerations to a degree that would have embarrassed Boss Tweed. The idea is to cut the price of domestic crude oil until after the 1976 elections, at which time the price will be allowed to rise above present levels. In theory, gasoline prices are supposed to fall proportionately, by a few pennies per gallon, and then rise. If it worked as planned, this scheme would offset increases in the price of OPEC oil with reductions in the price of domestic oil. But that would stimulate domestic consumption, make it easier for OPEC to raise prices without much reduction in sales, and prevent domestic energy producers from giving the Arabs too much competition. Costly techniques which could extract lots more oil out of "old" domestic oil wells for three or four dollars *less* than the Arabs are charging would continue to be impossible with legal price ceilings. Long-range energy development would continue to be thwarted by the unpredictable element of political whim in pricing.

Bad as this is, there are grounds for doubt that a reduction in the price of domestic crude would actually have much effect in reducing the retail price of refined products. Gasoline prices have been well below the level that is justified by costs, so the current pump price now



After the Ball

After default was over,
  Beame washed his shirts at home;
Carey reviewed his shorthand;
  Lindsay took off for Nome.
After they slashed the pensions,
  Bella cried, "*Oy, gevalt!*"
People at Chase were less friendly,
  After default.

W. H. von Dreele

reflects soft market conditions as much as cost—demand as well as supply. If gasoline prices didn't fall much, the congressional bill could turn out to be a subsidy to those refiners who have small supplies of domestic crude, and the subsidy would be paid for by domestic producers of crude oil. That is so because the refiners' crude oil costs would fall (as required by the legislation) by a larger amount than the decline in product prices, thus boosting profits—a curious outcome from this supposedly populist legislation.

If the prices of refined products *did* fall for a while, people would demand more of such products. In the resulting tight market, OPEC could easily raise its prices some more—thus offsetting the reduction in domestic prices. Since additional supplies to meet the higher demand would have to be refined from OPEC oil, the price of refined products would rise to reflect that rising marginal cost. At this point, Congress would probably cut domestic crude prices still further in a futile attempt to insulate consumers from the effect of increasing dependence on the foreign oil cartel. But this process of cross-subsidizing OPEC at the expense of domestic oil and gas producers has to stop at some point above a zero price for our oil and below an infinite price for theirs. At some point, people are bound to ask why it is accepted public policy to pay a much higher price for OPEC oil than we are willing to pay our own domestic producers. The best person to answer that question is energy chief Frank Zarb, who, confusing compromise with being compromised, has advised President Ford to sign this suicidal bill.

Jail plus Cold Turkey

The most spectacular political effects of New York's crisis may be waiting just off stage, pending the completion of current efforts to save the city from default or else buffer such shock waves as may issue from default if it arrives in early December. *Prima facie*, it seems evident that actual crimes were committed by New York City officials, crimes which, had they been committed in the private sector, would have landed the guilty executives in jail. For example, New York's assets and income were persistently misrepresented in the interest of marketing its securities. The Securities and Exchange Commission, it turns out, is preparing to launch a full-scale investigation of these and other corrupt administrative practices, and, who knows, some erstwhile luminaries could easily end up in the slammer. ("Hi, Howard." "Hi, John. How long you in for?" "Six years." "I'll be out in two." "Bob's appealing his." "You know, I've always wanted to read *The Unmaking of a Mayor* but I've never had time." "Well, you've got it now.")

"Bankruptcy, by any other name, would smell as sweet." So commented the *Wall Street Journal*. Whether the ultimate plan agreed upon to handle New York's plight be labeled a moratorium, a default, or a bankruptcy scarcely changes the facts in the matter. If New York politicians, at the 11th hour, are beginning to face the facts of their situation, the rest of the country can thank President Ford for his hard-line resistance to a federal bailout. As recently as a month ago, nothing like Governor Carey's plan for the city was even remotely conceivable. Now he has come forward with a $6.6-billion scheme which, whatever the merits of its various aspects, at least engages the real problem. It involves postponement of debt payments, purchase of MAC bonds by union pension funds, cuts in services, and increased taxes. Other measures may be required. But in the absence of Ford's resistance, under mounting pressure, we would not have had even these. As the President said on October 29: "The greater risk is that any attempt to provide a federal blank check for the leaders of New York City would ensure that no long-run solution to the city's problems will ever occur."

Juan Carlos: Point Man

In skirmishing formation, the "point man" is the most exposed soldier in an infantry squad, the man most likely to step on the mine or trigger the machine-gun nest. Circumstances have now made Prince Juan Carlos of Spain the point man in the shifting line of struggle between the West and the forces of global Communist revolution, which is now heating up on the Iberian peninsula. With the death of Generalisimo Franco, the Prince at last gains power; in negotiating the early stages of the transition his moves have been deft—but the fate of previous Western point men does not afford grounds for any special optimism.

In recent months the Prince has indicated discreetly but unmistakably that he intends to promote a gradual relaxation of the repressive features of the Franco system. Western democrats agree that this will be both desirable and dangerous. Under Juan Carlos the government has moved to mitigate the danger and reassure the numerous and skeptical partisans of the Franco system. The most important move consisted of the jailing last week of a substantial number of important clandestine Communists, some of them reported to be members of the Party's underground Central Committee. For years these Communists, though under surveillance, had operated with considerable freedom. The crackdown, therefore, could be read as an initial move to the right. But, politically speaking, such a crackdown would necessarily precede any easing of controls. By jailing the Communists the regime signaled that it knows its most dangerous enemies, and it reassured those apprehensive about change that Juan Carlos has no intention of turning Spain into another Portugal.

In addition, his handling of the Sahara crisis shored up his position with the army, a powerful force in the political equation. Moroccan King Hassan clearly hoped that his Koran-waving horde would achieve a "peaceful" conquest of the Spanish Sahara and stage a Raspail-like humiliation of the Spanish army. Under instructions from Madrid, however, the Spanish representative at the UN informed the Security Council that the army and the air force would use force to block the invasion-by-mob. Land mines and armored vehicles were in place. Accompanied by the army chief of staff, Juan Carlos visited Spanish troops in the Sahara: "I wanted to assure you personally that everything will be done to preserve intact the army's prestige and honor." When the crunch comes in Spain, Juan Carlos will have no reason to regret that move.

And the crunch inevitably must come. The post-Franco regime will gradually introduce reforms, but it will be buffeted by problems of all kinds, and it does not intend to legalize the Communist Party. Juan Carlos will therefore become Global Enemy Number One of the Communist revolutionary movement. The political life of an anti-Communist point man is never tranquil and is frequently short.

The French Connection

It was no surprise that the statement issued by the international economic summit at Rambouillet read like the campaign speech of a typical politician. Only by sticking to vague platitudes could the French affection for "fixed" exchange rates be reconciled with the U.S. position in favor of floating rates. Floaters argue that fixed exchange rates force some countries to absorb the excess money created in other countries, thus importing outside inflation. Those who favor fixed rates argue that floating rates remove the constraint that a balance of payments deficit would otherwise put on excessive creation of money—assuming that countries are reluctant to devalue their currencies. In fact, there is no such thing as fixed exchange rates, and attempts to maintain fixed rates have often led to trade restrictions and other such inefficient interventions. So long as countries insist on running different rates of inflation—and they do—then no fixed ratio between currencies can hold up for long. Instead of the gradual and continuing change of floating rates, so-called "fixed" rates are just changed less frequently and by larger, more unsettling amounts.

The Rambouillet agreement directs central banks to intervene to prevent "disorderly" or "erratic" changes in exchange rates. But that simply sanctions the managed or "dirty" floating that already exists. No country is required to abide by any specific rules. So long as the British insist on printing money much more rapidly than, say, the Swiss, the British pound must ultimately decline in value relative to the Swiss franc. Only stable monetary policies can produce stable exchange rates, and all the conferences in the world won't guarantee stable monetary policies.

Collision over Kissinger

The special committee of Congress led by Representative Otis Pike (D., N.Y.) has issued three separate contempt citations against Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for his failure to produce documents. That the full House would vote to sustain these charges seems, given the particular circumstances, most unlikely. The action of the committee, however, shows a reckless disregard for our constitutional tradition, a disregard no doubt linked to the repeated constitutional clashes over various Watergate matters, but by no means excusable because of that link.

In the current collision details are important. In its first serious clash with the State Department, the Pike committee subpoenaed the document in which Thomas Boyatt, a State Department official, expressed his disagreement with Kissinger's Cyprus policy. Here a compromise was worked out according to which the Boyatt remarks were mixed indistinguishably with other critical commentary regarding the policy, thus giving the substance of the criticism but not tying particular comments to particular individuals. Though it preserved the anonymity of individual advisors, however, this may well have set an unfortunate precedent.

The Pike committee then subpoenaed a number of secret intelligence documents including ten pre-Kissinger recommendations to pre-Ford Presidents concerning covert operations, plus National Security Council documents concerning U.S. and Soviet adherence to the provisions of SALT I. The latter almost certainly bear on intelligence-gathering methods and also contain material that will affect imminent arms negotiations with the Soviets. If a committee of Congress has an unlimited claim on material of that kind, it is difficult to see how the executive branch can fulfill its obligations in connection with foreign policy.

But a wider issue is also involved here. In recent years a variety of issues have been forced to the point where they become constitutional issues. The Supreme Court is a particular aggressor in this regard, on matters ranging from school prayer and abortion to busing and pornography. By making those and other matters constitutional issues, the Court has invited retribution—involving constitutional collision—from Congress and, ultimately, the people. As an institution, the Court could be the loser. But now we have the Pike committee "frivolously" (Kissinger's accurate word) picking another constitutional

● IN ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY

● IN AIR COMFORT

● IN POWER TRANSMISSIONS
AND FLUID HANDLING

SUNDSTRAND
BRINGS YOU THE
FUTURE

Sundstrand
Corporation
ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS 61101

SUNDSTRAND ®

quarrel. The constitutional tradition, in contrast, involves a tacit agreement to avoid ultimate constitutional confrontations if at all possible. Confrontations are to be muted and blurred through negotiation and compromise among men who have a practiced sense of just how far one branch of government can impinge on another without impairing its legitimate functioning. Such tacit agreement is expressed in the constitutional myth that the three branches are "separate" and "equal." But the Pike committee has forgotten the constitutional tradition.

Sakharov

The day after he won his Nobel Peace Prize, Andrei Sakharov told a reporter how important it was that he personally go to Oslo to collect the award. "I look on the trip to Oslo as my duty. It's a highly responsible and very difficult trip for me, but I believe I should insist on it and should insist on certain guarantees for my return. The solution of this question has great significance for the defense of free convictions, the defense of principles that were adopted at the conference in Helsinki, Finland, to which the signatures of Soviet representatives were affixed."

Last week, to nobody's great surprise, Soviet authorities denied Sakharov permission to go to Oslo. What's more, they intensified the campaign against the heroic dissident, calling him a fascist sympathizer, an enemy of detente, and a traitor.

So far the Soviets' latest campaign has elicited little reaction in the West; the government of the United States, the leader of the Free World, not wishing to offend our partner in detente, has maintained a polite silence. We're *terribly* good at polite silence. *Unbeatable.*

Looking for a Home

Eldridge Cleaver has changed. Oh, he tries to make it sound as if America has done the changing, but it is pretty clearly he, Eldridge Cleaver, one-time Minister of Whatever of the Black Panthers, who has come round. In fact, he has come home to America. He says he expects to get a "fair and objective trial" here, which utterance already locates him to the right of Kingman Brewster.

It is not as if we'd known it all along, but looking back one realizes that Cleaver, a public figure by the grace of the liberal mass media during their goosiest phase, always spoke with a certain sophisticated regard to the liberal community. His most extravagant gestures —celebrating the offing of Bobby Kennedy, accusing various people of fascism and incest—were calculated for impact, and cunningly accommodated liberal rationalizations (which he sometimes supplied himself) in terms of racism and all that.

The relationship of liberalism to black radicalism was symbiotic. Liberals got indignant on behalf of blacks, though never of course angry in their own persons; and the corresponding role of blacks was to act angry, and to present their anger rhetorically as a spontaneous response to oppression. Obviously, the black role depended on at least an intuitive understanding of the relation to the white liberal role, and the more articulate and successful Panther-types, Cleaver pre-eminently, were really crypto-liberals, simulating black rage in a form of reverse Stepin Fetchitism. At some obscure level, they really knew better.

Cleaver himself is sufficiently rational that his exposure to totalitarian states during his "self-imposed exile" proved, naturally enough, to be more than his flesh could bear. In a *Rolling Stone* interview (see "The Week," Sept. 12), he made it official: Communism stinks, and the U.S. "should be second to none militarily." His interviewer was shocked and saddened. Cleaver was risking the forfeiture of white radical-liberal goodwill, and in a *Times* Op-Ed piece heralding his homecoming, he backtracked subtly, neither recanting nor repeating his Moynihanesque positions, explaining his act rather as a gesture of faith in America's post-Watergate, post-Vietnam Higher Consciousness. He is now a man without a party, maneuvering for a place, even looking for a home, at risk of going back to jail. He is charged with murder, among other things; yet there is a peculiar poignancy about it all, and it is hard to wish him ill.

Thanks

For Rocky conking out as Veep;
For New York living on-the-cheap;
For Douglas calling it a day;
For voters socking ERA;
For Bella's consequent distress;
For Jackie fading in the press;
For Teddy's Boston busing blues;
For Jerry blowing all his cues . . .
But most of all a cheery "thanks"
For Reagan gnawing on his flanks.

W. H. VON DREELE

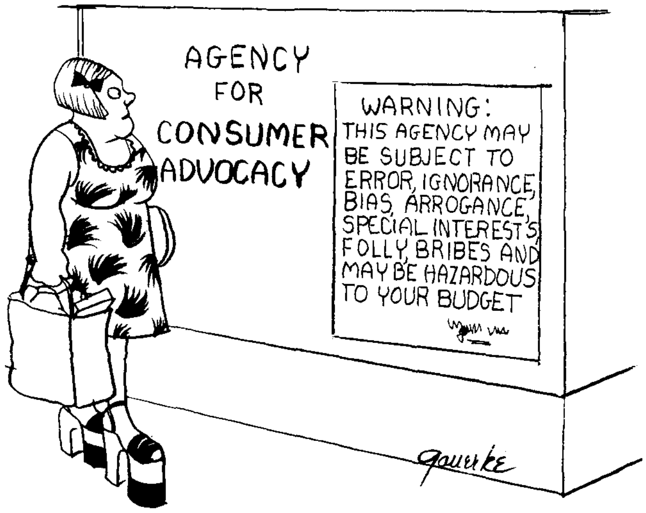
Libertarian and Bourgeois Freedoms

In a recent *Wall Street Journal* the invaluable Irving Kristol published an essay on "Conservatism and Capitalism" in which he made some memorable distinctions regarding "freedom" and offered a profound diagnosis of our present predicament. His formulations are important enough to pass along to *NR* readers; herewith an excerpt:

"Ever since the beginnings of modern capitalism in the eighteenth century, two very different conceptions of liberty have dwelt within its breast. The first is 'libertarian,' and asserted that God and/or nature had so arranged things that, by the operations of an 'invisible hand,' individual liberty, no matter how self-seeking, could only lead ultimately to humanity's virtuous happiness. 'Private vices, public benefits' was its motto—and still is.

"The second idea of liberty may be called the 'bourgeois' idea. It asserted that liberty implied the right to do bad as well as the right to do good, that liberty could be abused as well as used—in short, that a distinction had to be made between liberty and 'license.' The making of this distinction was the task of our cultural and religious institutions, especially the latter. It was these institutions which infused the idea of liberty with positive substance, with 'values,' with an ethos. The basic belief was that a life led according to these values would maximize personal liberty in a context of social and political stability, would ensure—insofar as this is humanly possible—that the exercise of everyone's personal liberty would add up to a decent and good society. The practical virtues implied by the 'bourgeois' values were not very exciting: thrift, industry, self-reliance, self-discipline, a moderate degree of public-spiritedness, etc. On the other hand, they had the immense advantage of being rather easily attainable by everyone. You didn't have to be a saint or a hero to be a good bourgeois citizen.

"It did not take long for the culture emerging out of bourgeois society to become bored with, and hostile to, life and a social order based on such prosaic bourgeois values. Artists and intellectuals quickly made it apparent that 'alienation' was their destiny, and that the mission of this culture was to be anti-bourgeois. But so long as religion was a powerful force among ordinary men and women, the disaffection of the intellectuals was of only marginal significance. It is the decline in religious belief over the past fifty years—together with the rise of mass higher education, which popularized the culture's animus to bourgeois capitalism—that has been of decisive importance. . . . But religion is now ineffectual and even businessmen find the bourgeois ethos embarrassingly old-fashioned. This leaves capitalism, and its conservative defenders, helpless before any moralistic assault, however unprincipled. And until conservatism can give its own moral and intellectual substance to its idea of liberty, the 'liberal' subversion of our liberal institutions will proceed without hindrance."


AGENCY FOR CONSUMER ADVOCACY
WARNING: THIS AGENCY MAY BE SUBJECT TO ERROR, IGNORANCE, BIAS, ARROGANCE, SPECIAL INTERESTS, FOLLY, BRIBES AND MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR BUDGET
Gauerke

Notes & Asides

■ PARIS WHITE HOUSE
NOV. 16

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.
NATIONAL REVIEW

AS FAST AS AIR FORCE ONE WILL FLY I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO MAKE IT HOME TO PERSONALLY JOIN IN CONGRATULATING YOU AND NATIONAL REVIEW ON YOUR TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY. I APPRECIATE YOUR KIND INVITATION TO SEE YOU LEAVE THE FIRING LINE FOR THE RECEIVING LINE. AND I WILL MISS HEARING YOUR DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS, SENATOR BUCKLEY, SENATOR GOLDWATER, AND GOVERNOR REAGAN. PLEASE NOTE THAT THESE ARE IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER AND NOT NECESSARILY IN THE ORDER OF MY HIGH REGARD. SERIOUSLY, I COMMEND ALL THE STAFF OF NATIONAL REVIEW AND ITS ERUDITE EDITOR FOR PROVIDING AMERICA WITH A SERIOUS, RESPECTED, AND RESPONSIBLE CONSERVATIVE VOICE WHICH IS NOT ONLY MORE OFTEN RIGHT THAN LEFT BUT ALSO MORE OFTEN RIGHT THAN WRONG. PLEASE ACCEPT MY VERY GOOD WISHES AND WARM PERSONAL REGARDS.

GERALD R. FORD

■ WASHINGTON D.C.

DEAR BILL: I WISH I COULD BE WITH YOU TO HELP CELEBRATE NATIONAL REVIEW'S TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY. TO SO MANY OF US THE REVIEW HAS LONG BEEN AN OLD AND TRUSTWORTHY FRIEND—URBANE, INTELLIGENT, AND ALWAYS STIMULATING. I TRUST THAT IN ITS THIRD DECADE IT WILL CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ONGOING NATIONAL DEBATE AS IMPORTANTLY AND AS ELEGANTLY AS IT ALWAYS HAS. AND I HOPE THAT OCCASIONALLY I WILL EARN ITS APPROBATION. I LOOK FORWARD TO THE PLEASURE OF ITS COMPANY FOR SOME TIME TO COME. CONGRATULATIONS AND WARM REGARDS.

HENRY KISSINGER

■ WASHINGTON D.C.
NOV. 16

DEAR BILL: THOUGH AN ECONOMIC SUMMIT HAS COME BETWEEN US, I WANT YOU TO KNOW HOW DEEPLY I REGRET MISSING YOUR GALA CELEBRATION TONIGHT. IT IS JUST THE KIND OF OCCASION THAT WOULD BRING ME TO NEW YORK. INDEED, IT IS THE ONLY OCCASION I WOULD VENTURE TO ATTEND THERE. CONGRATULATIONS ON TWENTY YEARS OF OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN ARTS AND LETTERS.

BILL SIMON

■ ROBERTSBRIDGE
ENGLAND

DEAR BILL: WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON NATIONAL REVIEW'S TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY. IT'S BEEN A SORELY NEEDED ELEMENT OF SANITY IN EVER CRAZIER WORLD. LONG MAY IT CONTINUE SO. AFFECTIONATELY,

MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE

■ *The Introduction to Michael Oakeshott's speech at Hunter College, November 17. Mr. Oakeshott's speech appears on p. 1345 of this issue.* During the last month or two of the World War, the journalist Peregrine Worsthorne, then in his late teens, shared a pup-tent with a middle-aged man, and during the day they slogged forward toward northern Germany under the leadership of General Montgomery. At night they talked about the kind of oil to use on their guns; the tactics of General Montgomery; the foulness of the food; the erratic delivery of mail; and other barracks talk. In due course came demobilization and Worsthorne matriculated at Cambridge, and checked in for his first course with some anticipation because of the great reputation of the lecturer, Michael Oakeshott. When he walked into the room, Worsthorne recognized—his old tent-mate. Until that moment he had been given no reason to believe that his companion-at-war knew the difference between Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Babe Ruth. No doubt Perry patronizingly undertook, in the quieter moments of that great military offensive, to pass along a few historical tidbits to Michael Oakeshott who, 12 years earlier at a precocious age, had published a book called *Experience and Its Modes* that stopped the academic community dead in its tracks by its brilliance. A few years later, Professor Oakeshott was appointed to the chair at the London School of Economics vacated by the death of Harold Laski, a piquancy—a quiet donnish conservative replacing an ebullient evangelistic socialist—that greatly caught the imagination of Britain, or at least parts of Britain. He proceeded in his leisurely way to read, and to write—at the rate of about one essay, perhaps two, per year. In 1962 came the collection *Rationalism in Politics*, which, in the words of Professor Havard, is "a landmark in restoring the credibility of political philosophy." A few years earlier he brought out soberly a book called *A Guide to the Classics*. The subtitle of the book was: *How to Pick a Derby Winner.* His colleagues were only slightly amused. Shortly after his book on politics, a monograph on his work appeared, the editor of which wrote, "It will scarcely be denied, I think, even by those who most dislike what they take to be the practical implications of his work, that Oakeshott is the most profound and original thinker that England has produced in the twentieth century." Now Mr. Oakeshott, returning to philosophy, has written *On Human Conduct*. Professor K. R. Minogue has written, "*On Human Conduct* is a complex book which leaves little in human experience untouched. On Oakeshott's view of moral practice as a language or religion as a graceful response to the conditions of human life and of much else we lack the space to comment. But the book is the outcome of a lifetime's meditation on political philosophy and it is worthy to stand beside its models *Leviathan* and the *Philosophy of Right*. . . ." On behalf of the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW I am happy and proud to present Michael Oakeshott.

Welcome Aboard

For me, the UN's never been
A spot that I feel comfy in.
When I was for the Ibos, they
Were all for putting them away;
Nor did they evidence concern
When it was Moise Tshombe's turn.
For this and more, I'm dying to
Say bye-bye to that crazy zoo,
A goal I think I'm sharing with
The people at B'nai B'rith.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ Memo to our friends
From WFB

As was the case last year, there will be no Christmas issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Nineteen years' experience showed that it is the neglected issue of the year, our readers' preoccupations being, quite correctly, entirely non-political. Also, as last year, every subscriber will get an issue of the magazine added to his ration.

During the week we will not be publishing, 22 associates of NATIONAL REVIEW will take a six-day tour of the Soviet Union, a country we are all deeply interested in for personal and professional reasons. The cost of that tour is a personal gift from the editor's private funds, to his hard-working colleagues, as a tribute to NATIONAL REVIEW on its twentieth birthday. If on the seventh day we have not returned, be so kind as to come and get us. Mr. Donald Rumsfeld has undertaken a crash course to prepare himself for the contingency.

—**WFB**

Leverage

Capital Issues

GEORGE F. WILL

Does it seem like 36 months since George McGovern swept Massachusetts and the District of Columbia and the nation swept Richard Nixon into office for four more years of peace with honor and the emergence of the Republican majority? Time does fly when you're having fun, and the next presidential election will have come and gone before we have time to enjoy it. But already the presidential race has been with us for months, and we can measure some of the consequences of this fact: we endure a presidential election every 48 months: and for 18 months preceding each election, the election campaign is under way and exerts a powerful pull on policy.

Certainly the 1976 campaign already has taken a toll on foreign policy, and not a moment too soon.

In his first press conference after the purge of Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made some very testy remarks about the Soviet Union's rejection of the most recent U.S. strategic arms limitation proposals. Mr. Kissinger accused the Soviet Union of not offering any kind of "reasoned response." Asked if the U.S. would withdraw its proposals and offer new ones more pleasing to the Soviet Union, Mr. Kissinger said: "We don't believe that the mere fact that the Soviet Union has rejected an American proposal requires us to come forward with another one." Three days later the Soviet Union said that it would not reconsider its rejection of the U.S. proposals originally made—and immediately rejected, on first reading, by Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko—on September 21. The Soviet Union accused Mr. Kissinger of refusing to take "no" for an answer.

Actually, the Soviet Union has things exactly wrong. Mr. Kissinger is taking the Soviet "no" as an answer. And critics of Mr. Kissinger's negotiating style say: It's about time.

Critics argue that Mr. Kissinger has adhered to a policy of "pre-emptive concessions" in handling the Soviet Union. Their criticism is less that the U.S. has been excessively compliant at the negotiating table than that the U.S. has been timid before going to the negotiating table. The critics cite a danger inherent in Mr. Kissinger's theory of detente. His theory is that detente is as much a process as a goal; that the process is an end in itself; that the process of negotiating agreements with the Soviet Union exerts a pacifying effect on that rough beast; that detente ceases to exist when there is a lack of "forward motion" to the next agreement, whatever it may be.

The problem, as critics see it, is that this theory contains a powerful bias in favor of motion, so that almost any motion is considered "forward" motion. The result of this theory of detente, according to critics, is that the U.S. has tried to anticipate Soviet reactions, and has tended to discard initial negotiating positions that might produce initial Soviet intransigence. Thus we have gone to the table with some concessions made, pre-emptively.

To these critics, the Soviet rejection of the U.S. proposals, and Mr. Kissinger's refusal to be dismayed by that rejection, is welcome evidence that the U.S. has a new-found willingness to risk detente "stagnation"—that is the revealing word Mr. Kissinger used to describe the state of the arms talks, which are the keystone to detente.

The details of the current impasse are complicated. They involve how to classify and count two weapons—the Soviet "Backfire" bomber and the U.S. cruise missile. The question is how each of these should be affected by the Vladivostok agreement which limits each side to 2,400 "strategic vehicles."

But less important than the details is the fact that the U.S. seems to have mastered its previously overmastering appetite for agreements. And it seems reasonable to assume that the rising tide of conservative discontent in the Republican Party has had something to do with this change. The arms talks, and with them detente, seem to have been put into a semi-freeze because of Mr. Ford's anxiety about conservative opposition to his nomination.

I have dwelt here on evidence that conservative pressure is having an impact on Mr. Ford's foreign policy. The effect of conservative leverage on domestic policy is, I think, even more apparent, especially in his use of the veto, and in his proposal for matching $28-billion cuts in federal taxes and spending. So you can understand why liberal Republicans are getting restless. They can see conservatives exercising leverage on Mr. Ford and they believe, not without reason, that they, too, could exercise leverage if they had what conservatives have—a candidate to run in the primaries.

After a recent speech at the National Press Club, Maryland's Republican Senator Charles McC. Mathias paused to chat with some reporters, one of whom asked him about a story by David Broder in that morning's *Washington Post.* The story reported Mathias' belief that the Republican Party can ill afford to allow two men as conservative as Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan to dominate the political argument this year. The exchange went like this:

Q. You have just ruled out your own running in the present situation, but what seemed to come through in David [Broder]'s story this morning was that you are not ruling out some moderate Republican getting into this thing. . . .

Mathias. I think New Hampshire is . . . a trap at the moment . . . whatever you do, you don't want to make a bad situation worse. . . . I think there would have to be some alteration of the situation in New Hampshire . . . maybe you'd have to wait beyond New Hampshire . . . see what happens . . . there's some precedent for that . . .

Q. Did you rule yourself out of New Hampshire?

M. Yes, under existing circumstances.

Q. What circumstances would you not rule yourself out under?

M. We'll have to wait and see how things unfold . . .

Q. Could circumstances change after New Hampshire?

M. They did for Lyndon Johnson. ☐

New Turn of the Screw?

JAMES BURNHAM

I HAVE SEVERAL times referred to an article by Boris Ponomarev published in internationally circulated Communist journals in June 1974. Ponomarev, a Politburo candidate, is in charge of relations with Communist parties in non-Communist countries. An article by him—or signed with his name—is one method by which the Kremlin communicates its estimates of the current situation and its directives to the leadership of those parties. Kremlin directives are no longer assured of the speedy, rigorous acceptance they could count on in the heyday of the Comintern. They are now presented in successive partial doses and are accompanied by implicit persuaders. But one way or another, with a handful of exceptions here and there, they usually manage to prevail.

The core of Ponomarev's message was simple and unequivocal. Detente, popular fronts, coalition governments, etc. are all well and good, but the essentials of Leninism must not be forgotten. The objective of the Communists in all non-Communist countries continues to be the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they cannot rely on ballots to achieve their objective. They must be ready to use force to break the resistance of the reactionaries to their advances.

Ponomarev's point thus differs from that often made by diplomats and Soviet officials in speeches or articles written for general rather than intra-Communist audiences. In discussing detente, it is routine for the officials to include, as a kind of postscript, the comment that detente in arms, trade, and whatnot does not apply to "ideology"; "the ideological conflict" continues. Ponomarev drops the Aesopian subterfuge: it is not only the "ideological" conflict that lingers on; the violent conflict, on the appropriate occasions, we also continue to have with us.

Theme and Variations

This Ponomarev article sounded the theme that has been repeated, modulated, and developed over the past 18 months by Ponomarev himself and many of his colleagues of the inner *apparat*—at first by, for the most part, Communists' Communists rather than by the officials who show up at top level conferences or play hosts to visiting heads of government.

Lately, however, the theme has been emerging more often from the highest official levels also. A few weeks ago [*NR*, Oct. 24] I mentioned that in August, *Pravda*—official journal of the Soviet government—printed an article in the thematic sequence by Konstantin Zaradov, editor of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. In non-Communist circles, Zaradov and his magazine are familiar only to specialists. Communist cadres everywhere realize that the magazine, which appears in all major languages and is circulated globally, is an authoritative voice. To reconfirm the significance of the *Pravda* article, Brezhnev—the top man—praised Zaradov by name in his first public statement after returning in September from a long vacation.

Earlier this year Alvaro Cunhal, leader of the Portuguese party, had played the theme with picturesque, mocking, and brutal measures in an interview with the Italian-cosmopolitan journalist Oriana Fallaci that got worldwide publication. In the making of the Portuguese revolution, Cunhal has had full support—publicly expressed—from the Soviet Union and the global Communist organizations. Both Cunhal and Zaradov particularly stressed the thesis that "a democratic majority is not an arithmetic but a political concept." This thesis, even apart from the explicit rationale for the use of force, implies a rejection of "the parliamentary road to socialism," about which there has been much talk over the past decade.

Perhaps an even more significant symptom of strategic direction is the change during the past year in the tune sounded by Georges Marchais, leader of the French Communist Party. Our wiseacres have long pointed to the French CP as an exemplar of "the parliamentary road" only less striking than the Italian CP. This appreciation they felt to be confirmed by the formation of the United Front with the Socialists, which came so close to winning the spring 1974 election. But beginning as early as the autumn of 1974, Marchais has been conducting an escalating political attack on his United Front partners as appeasers and collaborators, ready to sell out to the enemy for the sake of governmental office and power.

Soldiers of the New School

A very special attention is being paid to the armed forces. "Communists have always attached great importance to work in the army," declared *The New International Review* (another Party organ) in April 1974. "The struggle for democratization of the army and for progressive reforms in its structure plays a powerful role in the present situation. . . . Every revolutionary movement must struggle to win the army over to its side." An article in the May 1975 issue of another Communist journal (*Cahiers du Communisme*) goes beyond traditional doctrine in recognizing a "new military type" exemplified in Latin American military coups since 1968: a type in which the military is no longer "above class" or merely serving a ruling class, but is itself organically involved in the political process. The Communists have made notable progress lately in a number of armies: cf. Portugal, the Netherlands, France, Italy.

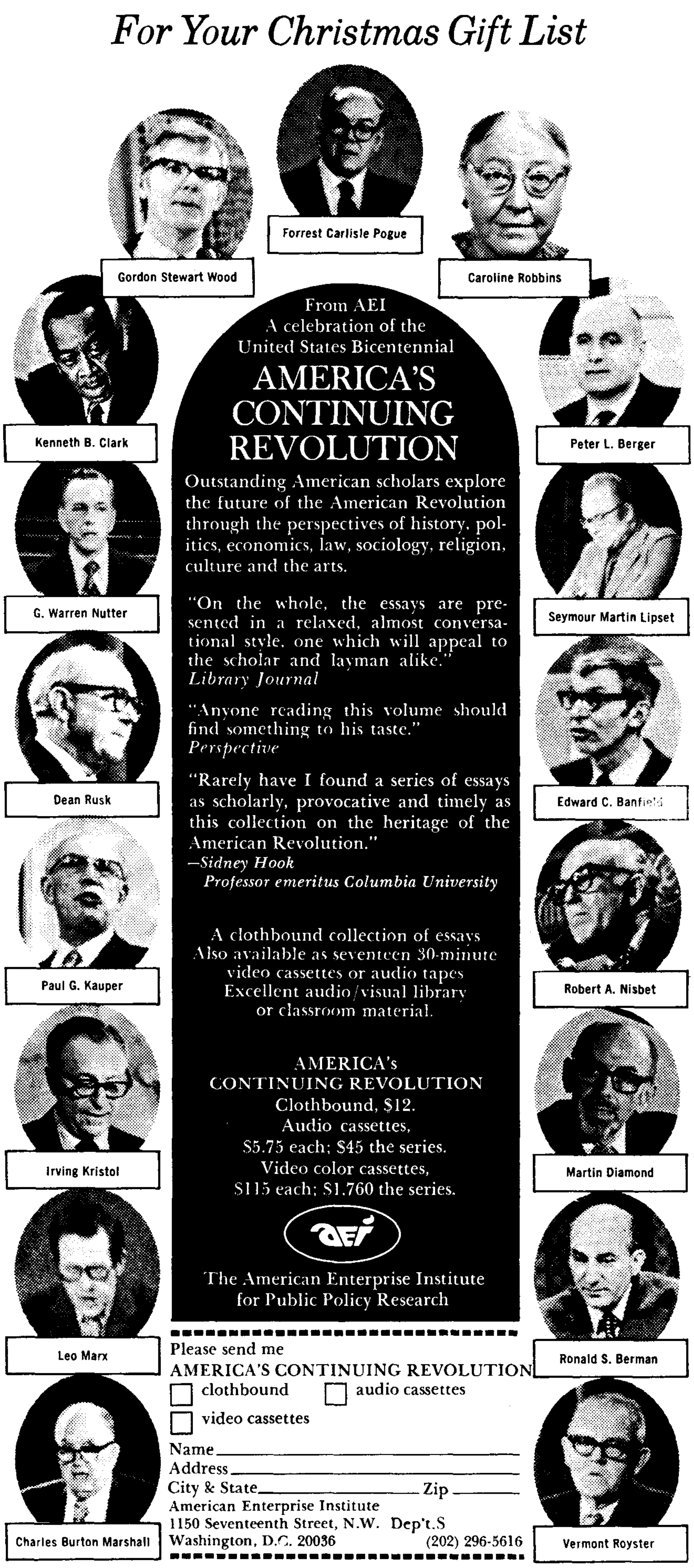
The main strategic line of Soviet-linked (or -influenced) Communism has developed in a cyclical pattern with seven or eight distinct phases (or "periods," as they are sometimes called): War Communism, New Economic Policy, Third Period, United Front against War and Fascism, (Hitler Pact episode, perhaps not to be classified as a distinct phase), Great Patriotic War, Cold War, Peaceful Coexistence & Detente. There is an alternation between hard and soft phases, with the "turn" from one to another occupying a transition of varying but sometimes considerable length. These endogamous statements of the past year and a half, along with many others like them, suggest at least, if they do not quite prove as yet, that the Soviet Bolshevik leadership is engaged in a sustained maneuver to "turn" as much of World Communism as it can affect into a new hard phase.

This hypothesis is strongly reinforced by Soviet and Soviet-linked actions. The Soviet Union backed and supplied—*after* the Paris Accords—the Communist conquest of South Vietnam and Laos. Contrary to the almost unanimous expectations of the Western media (and experts), Moscow has given massive political and military support to the hard-line Portuguese Communists as well as to the MPLA in Angola. Soviet arming is accelerating and the Soviet SALT negotiators have markedly hardened their already hard stand. Moscow has openly scorned the soft "Basket III" of the Helsinki Agreement, and has clamped down as if for deliberate provocation on domestic dissidents. Last month Brezhnev went so far as to snub Valéry Giscard, head of the Western government with which Moscow has in the past tried to nourish its own "special relation." In fact, looked at in terms of realities rather than form, the Kremlin is at the present time a belligerent in an anti-Western revolutionary war for state power in both Portugal and Angola.

From Words to Deeds

The major turns in Soviet-Communist strategy result from basic changes in the given historical situation (or what the Communist leadership judges to be basic changes). On the hypothesis that this is a major turn, the changes prompting the Communist leadership to make it seem to be four: 1) the defeat of the Communists' predominantly popular front policy in Chile; 2) the U.S. defeat in Indochina; 3) the relative Soviet improvement in the arms balance; 4) the belief of most Soviet analysts that there is a new general economic crisis in the Western industrial nations, comparable to and even potentially exceeding the Depression of the Thirties. Given these four premises, it would not seem altogether arbitrary to draw the conclusion that the period has arrived for a hard drive, with no holds barred, not merely to strengthen Communist positions already won and extend Communist influence, which tasks are always on the agenda, but to enlarge the amount of real estate under direct Communist rule. Indochina, Mozambique, Portugal, Angola . . . Who are tomorrow's candidates?

There is no reason for the Communists to jettison detente in making the turn. Detente has proven one of the most effective weapons in their armory. ☐



For Your Christmas Gift List

From AEI
A celebration of the
United States Bicentennial

AMERICA'S CONTINUING REVOLUTION

Outstanding American scholars explore the future of the American Revolution through the perspectives of history, politics, economics, law, sociology, religion, culture and the arts.

"On the whole, the essays are presented in a relaxed, almost conversational style, one which will appeal to the scholar and layman alike."
Library Journal

"Anyone reading this volume should find something to his taste."
Perspective

"Rarely have I found a series of essays as scholarly, provocative and timely as this collection on the heritage of the American Revolution."
—Sidney Hook
Professor emeritus Columbia University

A clothbound collection of essays
Also available as seventeen 30-minute
video cassettes or audio tapes
Excellent audio/visual library
or classroom material.

AMERICA's
CONTINUING REVOLUTION
Clothbound, $12.
Audio cassettes,
$5.75 each; $45 the series.
Video color cassettes,
$115 each; $1,760 the series.

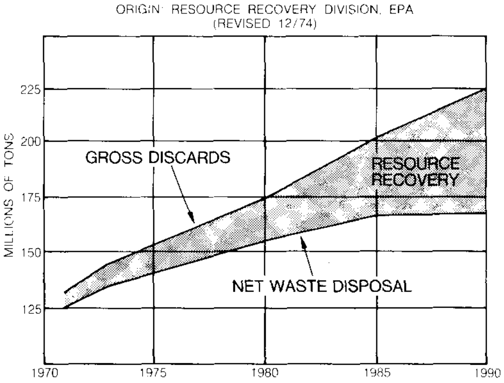
The American Enterprise Institute
for Public Policy Research

Please send me
AMERICA'S CONTINUING REVOLUTION
☐ clothbound ☐ audio cassettes
☐ video cassettes
Name ________________
Address ________________
City & State __________ Zip ______
American Enterprise Institute
1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W. Dep't.S
Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 296-5616

Progress Report / Resource Recovery

What America is doing to reclaim energy and materials from municipal solid waste.

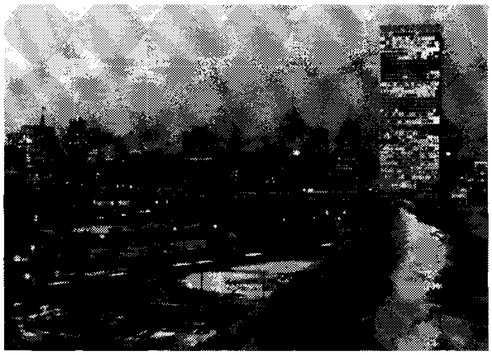
Encouraging news in the war on waste


ORIGIN: RESOURCE RECOVERY DIVISION, EPA (REVISED 12/74)

To date, more than 50 U.S. communities are planning or actually operating resource recovery facilities. These facilities are designed to recover some of the $2 billion worth of reusable materials in the estimated 150 million tons of refuse Americans will discard this year alone. Significant trends are emerging. The chart at left is based on a recent study by the Environmental Protection Agency. It plots the expected growth of municipal solid waste (top line) . . . and the projected increase in resource recovery (shaded area). It shows that in 1971, we recovered only 6% (eight million tons) of our solid wastes. By 1990, we should be recovering 26% (58 million tons). And, as the chart also shows, net waste disposal could level off by 1985 as the increase in recovery equals the increase in gross discards.

Resource recovery, big city style: Milwaukee, Wisc. (pop. 717,099)

The lights of Milwaukee's skyline: next year some of them will be lit with electricity generated by burning the city's garbage. Milwaukee has become the first city of its size in the U.S. with a long-term contract for systematic solid waste recycling. In mid-1976, an $18 million facility designed, constructed, financed and operated by American Can Company's Americology unit is scheduled to come on stream. When it does, about 20% of Milwaukee's annual 270,000 tons of municipal waste will be reclaimed for its usable steel, tin, aluminum, paper and glass. Another 60% will be converted into combustible material with the annual energy equivalent of 75,000 tons of coal. Wisconsin Electric Power Company will buy this fuel to help light the city's homes and offices.



Resource recovery, small town manner: Ames, Iowa (pop. 39,505)

SITE OF
SOLID WASTE
SEPARATION PLANT
CITY OF AMES
1975

Ames is a college town in the center of Iowa's corn country. The garbage landfill sites Ames had used for 15 years were almost full. But Iowa farmland was too valuable for dumping solid waste. So Ames looked for alternatives. A study committee found that a resource recovery plant was not only feasible, but also offered several positive advantages. Last year, the City Council passed a bond issue. This Fall, the plant goes into operation. The town expects to recover $2,000 a week by selling the metals reclaimed from its garbage. The municipal power plant will buy the combustible fraction for use as a supplementary fuel. Because this fuel has a low sulfur content, air pollution will be reduced. And because resource recovery will salvage most of what Ames formerly discarded, landfill requirements will be slashed by more than 92%.

Did you know that . . .

The "garbage" Americans throw away each year contains: enough ferrous metal to build 4 million cars . . . enough paper to print every major newspaper in the country for a year . . . enough combustible material to generate the energy of over 200 million barrels of oil. ☐ A recent study forecasts that 10% of America's garbage will be used for energy by 1980. Projections from another study indicate that more than 300 communities with populations over 10,000 will launch major resource recovery projects in the next five years. ☐ Connecticut plans a network of nine regional resource recovery plants. Contracts have been signed for the first plant; it will provide the electrical energy needs for approximately 10% of the Bridgeport region's population.

American Can Company
American Lane
Greenwich, CT 06830

Talking Politics

THE NATIONAL REVIEW FORUM

Michael Oakeshott

The vocabulary of politics has become lamentably imprecise. We look for a thought and find only a worn-out incantation. The confusion in our discussion has had a debilitating effect on the political process in the modern state. Political discourse has in fact become so confused that we are unable to distinguish the issues that are the heart of the matter. Those issues may be stated as follows. Every modern state has three distinct features: 1) an office of authority; 2) an apparatus of power; and 3) a mode of association. Politics is the consideration of the shapes of these features, and it is a continuous and unremitting engagement. The language of politics is corrupted in various ways, such as confusion of the categories through applying to one category vocabulary appropriate to another. Oakeshott discusses at some length the application of words to their appropriate category. Particular attention, however, is accorded the third category, mode of association, where Oakeshott distinguishes between association based on substantive goals and association based on non-instrumental rules. Such rules prescribe not choices to be made or actions to be performed but conditions to be subscribed to in choosing or acting. It is Oakeshott's view that the "cooler virtues" of such "civil association" have much to recommend them, "especially to those disposed to choose their own destinations even if they do not reach them." —JEFFREY HART

CHAPTER I

POLITICS IS NOT concerned with anything or everything which it may come into a man's head to want and to contend for but with the consideration of the arrangements and rules which give shape to an association of human beings. The vocabulary of political discourse is composed of words and expressions used to diagnose situations alleged to call for redress in an official response, to identify the shapes of the features and characteristics of a state or alternative more desirable shapes, to express and to recommend beliefs, doctrines, or dispositions alleged to be important in formulating political proposals; or to denote allegiances to considerations of general desirability in respect to the arrangements of a state. In short, it is a vocabulary that purports to express the conflicts, the tensions, and the alignments of political belief and design which are characteristic of modern states.

And it is of this political vocabulary, its fortunes, its virtues and its vices, its use and its abuse, that I wish to speak.

It is, of course, a European vocabulary. For although states, or approximations of them, are now spread about the world, they are all European inventions. Some of the expressions of this vocabulary have been appropriated from the distant past, words first invented and used in relation to long defunct associations thought to be in some sense the precursors of modern states—an ancient Greek *polis*, a biblical "nation," a Roman or a Persian empire, or a medieval realm or patrimonial estate. Others are words from common discourse given expressly political meanings. And others again are inventions of our own designed to characterize emergent political persuasions or allegiances; although even the most time-bound of these expressions—Tory, Jacobin, Confederate, Whig—are apt to be generalized and as universals long outlive the circumstances of their invention.

We have, then, an extensive political vocabulary at our disposal: nouns and adjectives. We are not uninventive, but we use what we have economically, often preferring an old word even if this entails muddling the conversation by endowing it with an unfamiliar meaning. This vocabulary includes such expressions as: democracy, consent, consensus, power, freedom, the common interest, radical, progressive, liberal, conservative, a Bill of Rights, the rule of law, Right, Left, Center, totalitarian, equality, justice, toleration, and so on.

It may be supposed that many of these expressions were invented in order to distinguish and declare beliefs or dispositions and thus to make the political engagements less of a battle in the dark; but nobody could mistake them for scientific expressions. Indeed, we must allow them some degree of crudity; political discourse, concerned with persuasion, can never be a very refined engagement. But our language of politics is a vernacular that for long enough has been at the disposal, not only of scrupulous users (like Tocqueville, Madison, or Burke), but of anyone who wishes to persuade others of the virtue of a belief or the merits of a political response, and in these circumstances it has suffered grievous corruption.

Novel projects are labeled with familiar names that belong to a wholly different universe of discourse, and ancient enormities are revived in modern forms in an effort to make them acceptable

First, there is the confusion, born of inadvertence, in which political discourse degenerates into artless muddle: a preference for the vague and indeterminate, for words that may be invested with multiple meanings and turned into all-purpose expressions. What may now be meant by the word "liberal" is anyone's guess. "Progressive" and "reactionary" are models of ambiguity. And who knows whether the famous phrase "of the people" is an objective genitive or merely a vague anticipation of the more explicit phrases that follow it? Then there is the perversion that occurs when any of these expressions is abridged into a slogan: relatives transformed into absolutes, "free speech" and laissez-faire (which emerged as pleas for release from specific inhibiting conditions) turned into empty unconditional claims. We look for a thought and find only a worn-out, sapless incantation. For, in achieving the status of a battlecry, a political expression surrenders its place in a living language of political discourse and becomes a piece of bric-a-brac, like a notice-board displayed for sale in a second-hand shop: Beware of the Dog. There is no dog, and although the notice-board could hardly have been made unless there were people with dangerous dogs, it is in the shop to be bought by anyone who takes a fancy to it, for its decorative value or to stop a hole to keep the wind away: detente, "democracy in danger," "minority rights," "majority rule." Then again, these expressions are available to be used artfully, to distract attention or to direct it elsewhere—like the ugly mask of a dancer that says, "My beauty is not my only virtue," and either speaks truly or lies, but divulges little. For fraud has been added to muddle, doubletalk to inadvertence and oversophistication. Novel projects are labeled with familiar names that belong to a wholly different universe of discourse, and ancient enormities are revived in modern forms and given false names in an effort to make them acceptable. An arbitrary redistribution of wealth is called "taxation," a calculated debauch of the currency is called "inflation," the exercise of "lordship" by rulers is called "socialization," servility packaged with benefits announces itself as "the New Freedom," and a group whose confessed intention is to "smash capitalism" is called "a coalition of moderates."

Now, none of this is surprising; it is what may happen to any vernacular in the hands of optative users, especially when their desires concern the alteration of the common arrangements of an association where, as the ancient Chinese sardonically remarked, "the rectification of names" is an important consideration. And we may think we have not erred so greatly in this matter as some others. But there is one misfortune common to us all.

A modern state, as it emerged (whenever and wherever it might be in the last five hundred years), was observed to have certain constituent characteristics that, although not unique to this kind of association, appeared there more distinctly than elsewhere. These naturally became the focus of political attention. Political deliberation was concerned to understand them, to suggest for each an allegedly desirable shape corresponding to current beliefs. And the language of politics reflected these engagements. But, although nothing has since happened to depose them from this position of central importance, our language of politics has now become so elaborate and so confused that these great themes have got lost in its complications. We imagine that we are addressing ourselves to a succession of newly emergent beliefs and situations, each calling for an official response, but—distracted by their purported novelty and confused by a lot of new words and expressions (most of them devoid of any precise meaning)—we remain unaware that we are all the time concerned with these central themes and fatally confused about which of them we are considering. In short, political discourse has become so thickly orchestrated that we are unable to distinguish, or even to hear, the melodies which are the heart of the matter.

Let me remind you of them.

CHAPTER II

A MODERN STATE, as it emerged from a medieval realm, a patrimonial estate, a military protectorate, or a collection of colonial settlements, had three distinct features that it has never lost: an office of authority, an apparatus of power, and a mode of association. Each was in the making, not out of nothing but out of current beliefs and by the imposition of an allegedly more desirable shape upon what happened to be there. And this making and remaking has gone on ever since. In the history of some states there have been short pauses when one or another of these features seemed to acquire a temporarily acceptable shape, but nowhere has the shape of any of them become unquestionably fixed. Politics, the consideration of the shapes of these features in terms of their desirability, which one optimistic *Federalist* writer thought might be done once and for all, has been a continuous and unremitting engagement.

First, the office of authority. A state is an association of human beings constituted in the only manner in which such an association may be constituted; namely, in the acknowledgment of the authority of its rules and arrangements. And here, where these rules and arrangements are eligible to be changed and none is immune from amendment, this acknowledgment is the recognition of the authority of the office in whose custody they lie and of the procedures by which they may be changed and come to be prescribed. And by the acknowledgment of authority I do not mean approval of what is prescribed or the recognition of power to enforce prescriptions; I mean the recognition of an antecedent right to prescribe. This recognition is given in virtue of the shape or constitution of the office and not at all in virtue of the quality of its enactments or of their outcomes. When on the eve of the battle of Agincourt the soldier Bates said in conversation with his fellows, "We know enough, if we know we are the King's subjects," he, briefly, acknowledged the authority of a King-shaped office of rule and recognized an obligation that perhaps he might not always adequately discharge but that he could not deny without declaring himself quit of the realm. We may think we are more sophisticated than this man of long ago, but we are not; we merely have different beliefs about what is authoritative and are more muddled about them.

A modern state, then, emerged with the appearance of an office of rule and the acknowledgment of its authority. This office was a status, identified by a name, together with rules specifying the conditions of its proper occupation. Often there was such an office and occupant ready to hand (a medieval king or a grand duke), but even so they had to get their authority accepted in the new circumstances; and since authority is always an endowment by those whom it obligates, they were not always or rapidly successful in doing so. Otherwise, an office and the conditions of its occupation had to be invented. King-shaped offices were qualified by being incorporated with representative assemblies or abolished in favor of other constitutional shapes. Some of these have been the outcome of careful deliberation in which the shape emerged from beliefs about authority, others have been hasty and non-durable contrivances. But everywhere they have had to win recognition; everywhere, late or soon, they have met with denial of their authority in rebellion or civil war; nowhere have they survived without change. Such changes make up a state's constitutional history which, at bottom, is the history of a succession of beliefs about authority.

And by the acknowledgment of authority I do not mean approval of what is prescribed or the recognition of power to enforce prescription; I mean the recognition of an antecedent right to prescribe

In early days this was the most important theme of political reflection and its importance has not diminished. We tinker with it continuously, wondering whether some change in electoral law or some extension of the franchise might not constitute a more acceptably authoritative office of rule. We wear ourselves out by continually starting again from scratch. And by far the larger part of our political vocabulary is concerned with this theme. But the authority of an office of rule remains always a delicate matter of current belief. It must be able to survive a rainy day, it must be proof against disapproval and ridicule of the performances of the office and it cannot be bought with good works; it

hangs like a drop of dew
Upon a blade of grass.

The most substantial expressions of the fluctuating beliefs that endow an office of rule with authority are actual constitutional shapes in all their detail, but we have never in this matter given up the use of somewhat vague general expressions—as if the ingredient of myth they bring with them were necessary for our peace of mind. Thus, an office of rule is said to be authoritative because it is "democratic" or "republican" or "parliamentary" or "liberal." We are familiar with the expression "majority rule," and according to *Pravda* the government of Russia is a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship."

These expressions belong properly to our vocabulary of authority. They describe, somewhat vaguely, the shape of an office of rule and at the same time they purport to give reasons for attributing or not attributing authority to it.

Since fear of injury or want elevated into need are the conditions of a power relationship, he who neither fears anything nor needs anything cannot be drawn into it

When Henry Grattan, in 1790, said, "Rank majorities may give a nation law, but rank majorities cannot give law authority," he was not denying that the expression "majority rule" stood for a belief about authority, he was asserting that it did not stand for an acceptable belief about authority. But these expressions are soft and often difficult to construe. They reflect our chronic irresolution about the terms upon which we are willing to attribute authority to an office of rule and they impose a ramshackle character upon most modern states.

Moreover, our irresolution in this matter has bred obliquity. Our vocabulary of authority has been usurped to serve another, quite different, purpose. Its expressions have become ambiguous by having imposed upon them meanings which are concerned not at all with the authority of an office of rule but with its propensity to favor certain interests. The word "democracy," for example, is made to stand for a "method" of governing distinguished by its probable products, a "utilitarian device," a piece of machinery designed, not to express certain beliefs about authority but to fabricate rules and arrangements that promote certain interests. According to Madison, the superiority of what he called a "republican" over a "democratic" office of government lay in its capacity to control the factious inclinations of human beings. For Bentham, the virtue of universal suffrage and the other constitutional arrangements he favored was not that they were the terms upon which an office of rule might be more decisively recognized to have authority but that they were plausible devices for promoting a substantive condition of things called the greatest happiness. And the constitution of an office of rule is now commonly considered merely in terms of its propensity to promote what some party or faction wishes to see promoted. When your electoral prospects are dim, propose a change in the electoral rules.

The muddle and chicanery which this abuse of our vocabulary of authority has imposed upon political discourse is not negligible. In prising loose our authority-words from their proper concern and attaching them elsewhere, it has generated a fatal indifference to the authority of an office of rule and has persuaded many that the principle of association in a state is to be sought not in the authority of its government but in a consensual approval of its performances—which, of course, in a modern state is always lacking.

(Continues on page 1423)

Finally!

Twenty years ago, in the first issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, the editor declared that the new magazine stood "athwart history, yelling Stop, at a time when no one is inclined to do so, or to have much patience with those who so urge it."

It would appear there are limits to what we can accomplish through yelling. After twenty years of yelling at federal budgets that were pushing $80 billion when we started, we have federal budgets that push $400 billion. We were desperately worried about a debt structure that was counted in hundreds of billions then. It's in the trillions now, and our throats are hoarse with objurgations and demurrers. The cost of living, back in 1955, had doubled in less than twenty years, and we were scandalized. It has more than doubled since then, and we are of course scandalized. Inflation was a cruel threat to the stability of the country in 1955, when it reached 2 or 3 per cent; now we think 6 per cent is relatively orthodox if not downright prudent. We all sneered at Professor Samuelson for proposing that the money supply be increased by 1 or 2 per cent a year. Now a conservative President—well, everyone told us he was conservative—acting in consort with a conservative chairman of the Federal Reserve Board—well, everyone told us he was—gives us a money growth of 8, 10, 12 per cent a year, and we're supposed to applaud the new wisdom.

Meanwhile, the government's share of our personal income has risen, while we yelled, from 25 per cent to 40 per cent. If we just keep yelling, the government will be taking 50 to 60 per cent of our income ten years from now. All along the battlefront of economic policy, the conservative armies have been beaten back. We can look back at twenty years of humiliating defeat on budget policy, deficit spending, income taxation, monetary policy, wage and price control policy, and on and on.

Time for action, then, and I bring glad tidings here. A major effort at the national level is now being organized, whose result will be to call a halt to the seemingly endless expansion of government in our time. The campaign will be conducted under the name National Tax Limitation Committee. The president of the National Tax Limitation Committee is Mr. Lewis Uhler, an attorney in Sacramento, California who chaired the Tax Reduction Task Force that was commissioned in 1972 and 1973 to report to Governor Reagan on ways and means to get some control over state government spending.

That task force enlisted the aid of our country's finest economic minds. It produced the idea of "constitutional tax limitation," which places a limit on the state's power to tax. In brief, the proposal rests on figuring the ratio between the current tax revenues of the state and the current total personal income of the citizens of the state. That ratio is then defined by law—in some states by statute, in others by constitutional amendment—as the maximum amount the state may raise, keep, and spend. There are plenty of refinements, allowances for special circumstances, and addenda. The provision would not apply during times of national emergency or local disaster. If the state raises more than permitted, it must return the surplus to the local jurisdictions, or to the individual taxpayers. The ratio may actually decline by small increments over a period of years, on the assumption that the state need not continually increase its budget in rhythm with the long-term growth of the private economy.

The wisdom incorporated in this proposal was presented to the voters of California in the now famous Proposition #1 ballot. For a variety of technical reasons (canvassing procedures, follow-up, polling, anticipation of the opposition's counterattack), the proposal went down to defeat in the general election—but just by a couple of percentage points. And the defeat only sharpened the country's appetite for battle. It is an idea whose time has come.

A signature campaign is now well under way in Massachusetts, looking toward tax-limitation legislation and, eventually, a referendum. We will know by November 26 whether the necessary 80,000 qualified signatures were collected. A petition drive is also going forward in Michigan. Similar efforts are under way in Ohio, Indiana, Florida, and Wisconsin. Legislative moves have been made in New York and New Jersey. The substance of the tax-limitation proposal must be different in each jurisdiction, and the technical aspects require first-class work, in both economics and law, going into the drafting stage.

The National Tax Limitation Committee serves a vital function in making its research and technical expertise available to local groups, who may thus save themselves valuable time and effort, and avoid learning the hard way. The National Committee will serve as a clearing house for lessons learned in individual campaigns. It will provide national publicity, back-up services, and—as in Massachusetts—direct participation by experienced campaigners. With sufficient financing available at the national level, it will be able to provide the seed money that can get a local effort off dead center and moving in the right direction.

After six or eight victories in state legislatures, we should be ready to move to the national Congress and get an amendment to the Constitution. That prospect is so exciting that the National Tax Limitation Committee has had no trouble in gaining the active support of Arthur Godfrey and the Honorable Clare Boothe Luce, and organizational support from Milton Friedman and George Champion. We'll enlist support from organized labor, too—and why not? I am serving as chairman. If you're interested in helping, get in touch with me at Box 1000, Briarcliff Manor, New York 10510. With any luck at all, in one or two years of work we'll do what twenty years of yelling failed to do. □

William F. Rickenbacker is editor of the Rickenbacker Report, *an investment advisory service, and publisher of the* Financial Book Digest.

Retrospective and Prophecy

From the Continent

ERIK v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

I HAVE BEEN NATIONAL REVIEW'S Continental correspondent since its beginning: twenty years, a generation—and a long enough period for fruitful retrospection. Has history developed as I thought it would, or did it fool me? Many people have succeeded in predicting future events. The difficulty lies in judging the intensity and the significance of those expected events and, above all, in accurately predicting their timing. During his lifetime, Tocqueville got little attention for his now famous *De la démocratie en Amérique*. But after several generations he rose to fame because he had accurately forecast the advent of the Provider State—what we today call the welfare state.

What should one have learned in these last twenty years? Nothing new, really—for a conservative. Genuine scholars have always known there could be no such thing as humane Marxism. Opposed to all social, economic, and political realities and based on a false interpretation of human nature, Marxism can be enacted only by sheer force. There is, however, something fundamentally perverse in human nature, and enacted it has been. Since Marxism is predominantly an economic theory, its success or failure shows up primarily in the domain of economics. Its inadequacy has been striking. The Soviets were never able to repeat the successes of Imperial Russia, which, at times, saw faster industrial growth than even the United States. In steel production and railroad development it was a world leader after 1900. In contrast is the USSR's scandalous agricultural lag. The Soviets have 30 per cent of their population working on their farms, yet grain has to be imported the moment the harvest falls below maximum.

Literacy in the Soviet Union may be more widespread than in 1926, but the cultural output has declined immensely—as has nearly everything that makes for "quality of life," material and spiritual. But these hard facts fail to register with some of our contemporaries, especially those who pride themselves on being intellectuals: "Don't confuse me with facts, my mind is made up."

Some myths, however, have been exploded in these last twenty years. One of them is the belief that parliamentary democracy can be implanted almost anywhere. Even in Europe parliamentary democracy is strictly limited, existing, perhaps not insignificantly, primarily in those states in northern Europe that are at least nominal monarchies. In much of the Mediterranean region parliamentary democracy is a failure, and it would probably be the same in the East, given half a chance. In France, cradle of the democratic revival, it was nearly destroyed in 1958, and again in 1968, and again in 1974 when only 2.5 per cent of the vote prevented the advent of a Communist-Socialist government. In Latin America, India, and Southeast Asia, parliamentarianism and freedom are in massive retreat.

EXPLODED TOO have been the notions that only poverty and illiteracy breed crime, and that security brings happiness. The German suicide rate was at its lowest in 1946; it has risen steadily with the growth of welfarism. Crime too has increased with mounting prosperity. The spread of literacy has lowered the quality of literature almost everywhere. It is not true that the rich have become richer and the poor poorer. The poor have merely become more eager for economic equality and, thanks to political agitation, more vociferous.

The fairy tale of increasing inequalities has its global version too, a tale of poor nations being exploited by rich ones. But was black Africa richer before the colonial period? Or Malaysia? Or New Guinea? Surely it was brain power, organization, and hard work, rather than raw materials, that created the significant differences? The Arab world is today blessed with mammoth oil profits—but is it showing commensurate altruism?

The West continues its incredible course of masochism and abdication: it passively accepts the Soviet invasion of Hungary, the Berlin Wall, the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the fall of Indochina. Part of this masochism results from the belief that we Westerners are the most selfish, rotten, and cruel people in the world. Thirteen million Germans gave up their homes after WW II—unlike the 700,000 Palestinians who are still ready to set the world on fire. The Palestinians' case is good, but no better than that of the German expellees.

That people "all over the world are more alike than unalike" is another myth, one not yet exploded. Still another trades on "the horrors of colonialism." The savage atrocities committed by "liberated" people against themselves and their neighbors make European colonizers seem like angels. What would have happened if British generals in India had behaved like the Hindus and Moslems of today? Is Idi Amin *really* an improvement on Queen Victoria?

The near-helplessness of democracies in the face of swift totalitarian aggression has become only too obvious in the past twenty years. Despite their increasing importance on our shrinking globe, foreign policy and military affairs are the two Achilles' heels of representative government, and have become more vulnerable than ever. Policies that are based on the consent of the governed and that are arrived at by a slow process of crystallization cannot keep pace with the swift and decisive actions of the totalitarians. Nor can governments stay in synchromesh with the masses, who prefer to listen to electronic demagoguery. One cannot fight late twentieth century monsters with eighteenth century notions. So far the West has succeeded only in parrying Eastern blows—and has even allowed some of them to strike home. Rarely has it taken the initiative.

On top of all this comes the great spiritual decline of the West, highlighted by the crisis of the Catholic Church. The West, which doubts its own values and suspects its own traditions, provides little ground for hope. "Optimism is cowardice," Oswald Spengler said.

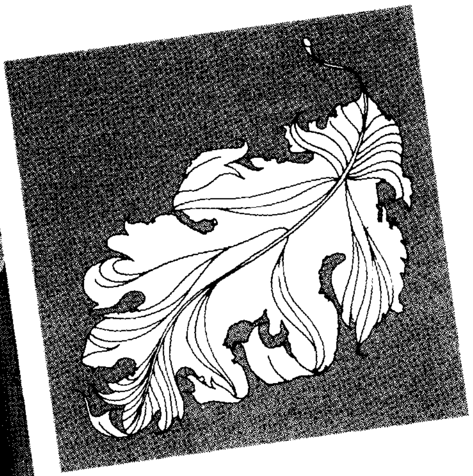
Our chief hope, I believe, lies in the profound crisis in the East. The Soviet Empire could kill us before it dies; before we commit suicide—or before we decide to return to our roots. A few straws in the wind indicate we may have made the decision to return. ☐

1

2

4

Advertisement



Week after week of the fall of '75 the most charismatic people in the world have been facing William F. Buckley Jr. on Firing Line.

1. James Schlesinger
2. Donald Rumsfeld
3. Margaret Thatcher
4. Henry Kissinger
5. Edmund Brown Jr.

Tune in every week on the PBS network

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

In Praise of Two Presidents

WONDROUS to relate, there are a few living university presidents possessed of courage and candor. I celebrate here the virtues of the presidents of two different institutions: one an important state university, the other the biggest of independent "private" universities.

"The educational task before us is essentially a reactionary one—that of returning to a time when the purposes of a collegiate education were frankly moral as well as intellectual—useful but not utilitarian." Are these the phrases of some old fuddy-duddy at a moribund Bible college? Nay, not so: the gentleman who so speaks calls himself a radical. He is Dr. William B. Boyd, the youngish new president of the University of Washington, until recently president of Central Michigan University.

President Boyd says that the American doctrine of Progress has gone glimmering, and that we stand in peril of embracing the doctrine of Misery instead. Addressing the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges a few months ago, he remarked that we must divorce the idea of human happiness from dependence upon material prosperity: "Otherwise, the danger is real that, giving up on happiness, humans may decide to settle for pleasure instead. That short-fall of human aspirations could be the tragedy of our time."

Ours must be a time of retrenchment and reform in the higher learning, Dr. Boyd continues; we enter a time of no quantitative growth. Student-driven models for the reformed university may be useful initially, but "followed long, they will distort our universities, leading us away from our goal of a balanced, coherent, liberating education. That will be a consequence of student-driven models because students themselves are driven by anxieties, immediate needs, and bad advice from their elders. Under those conditions, if we reshape our universities according to their sense of present needs, we may decimate departments which are needed for those more distant future needs. The humanities, in particular, are going to be needed for the reconstruction of humane educational experiences."

The coming phase of reaction and reform, President Boyd declares, must be a "value-driven model," an educational design with purpose and form guaranteed by requirements. "For a time we believed that requirements were an instrument of coercion, and we largely abandoned them; now requirements may re-emerge as an instrument of liberation—freeing universities from the tyranny of 'vogue' and 'relevance.' "

Universities nowadays lie a great deal, Dr. Boyd says: to legislatures, to students. They are corrupted by "grantsmanship." "The role of foundations, industry, and the Federal Government has become not merely dominant but domineering. The courtship between the researcher and the funder easily leads to an illicit affair. The legitimate slides into the illegitimate as getting grants becomes the object of the game. I have had colleagues teach plastic manners to airline stewardesses and teach manufacturers to make non-biodegradable plastic."

And the university has become a stronghold of hypocrisy. "We are indignant if public bodies submit to pressure, but we have thrown our senates open to mindless nihilists and capitulated to demand after demand. . . . We believe in due process for others, but in the academic area we offer very little to our students. . . . The professor is the last stronghold of absolute authority in the Western world. Even the Pope surrendered before he did."

So, says President Boyd, "the essentially moral purposes of education must be restored. . . . I would hope that higher education can set a better pace and initiate its own orders—not waiting for direction from courts or an outraged public."

Amen to that. The ethical character of the university is not being improved by the interference of the Federal Government—quite the contrary. So points out Dr. Dallin H. Oaks, another youngish president—of Brigham Young University, the only university of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints.

Testifying early this summer, on behalf of the American Association of Presidents of Independent Colleges and Universities, before a House of Representatives subcommittee, President Oaks spoke with a Mormon frankness and firmness against the outrageous ukase thrust upon all educational institutions that accept federal subsidies from HEW.

"We ought not to risk the destruction of the vital diversity and freedom of American higher education in order to pursue the elusive goal of equality," President Oaks declared. "The Regulations must be redrawn to confine their scope to the constitutional and statutory standard. They should be restricted to programs and activities that make direct use of federal funds, and to areas that will not stifle institutional differences in the vital areas of free speech, thought, association, and religion."

HEW: Secular Pontiff

HEW's new regulations "touch directly on religious questions," Dr. Oaks points out. "For example, they provide that institutions must be blind to the occurrence of abortion—that hiring, admissions, and classroom policies must not take notice of the fact that a person may have had or procured an abortion." He demonstrates that the grim tendency of the new HEW regulations is for government and not the church to become the "final arbiter of religious worship, practice, and belief."

Thus a nameless HEW clerk elevates himself to the dignity of a secular pontiff—impeding, rather than aiding, the moral renewal of the university for which President Boyd hopes. Yet in the long run intelligence will tell, even in a university, and if a score of such university and college presidents as these two still survive in this land, conceivably the university—which Dante held to be an estate equal in dignity to Church and Empire—may rebuff both the mindless nihilist, and the arrogant bureaucrat who hands mindless decrees to President Ford for his imperial signature. ☐

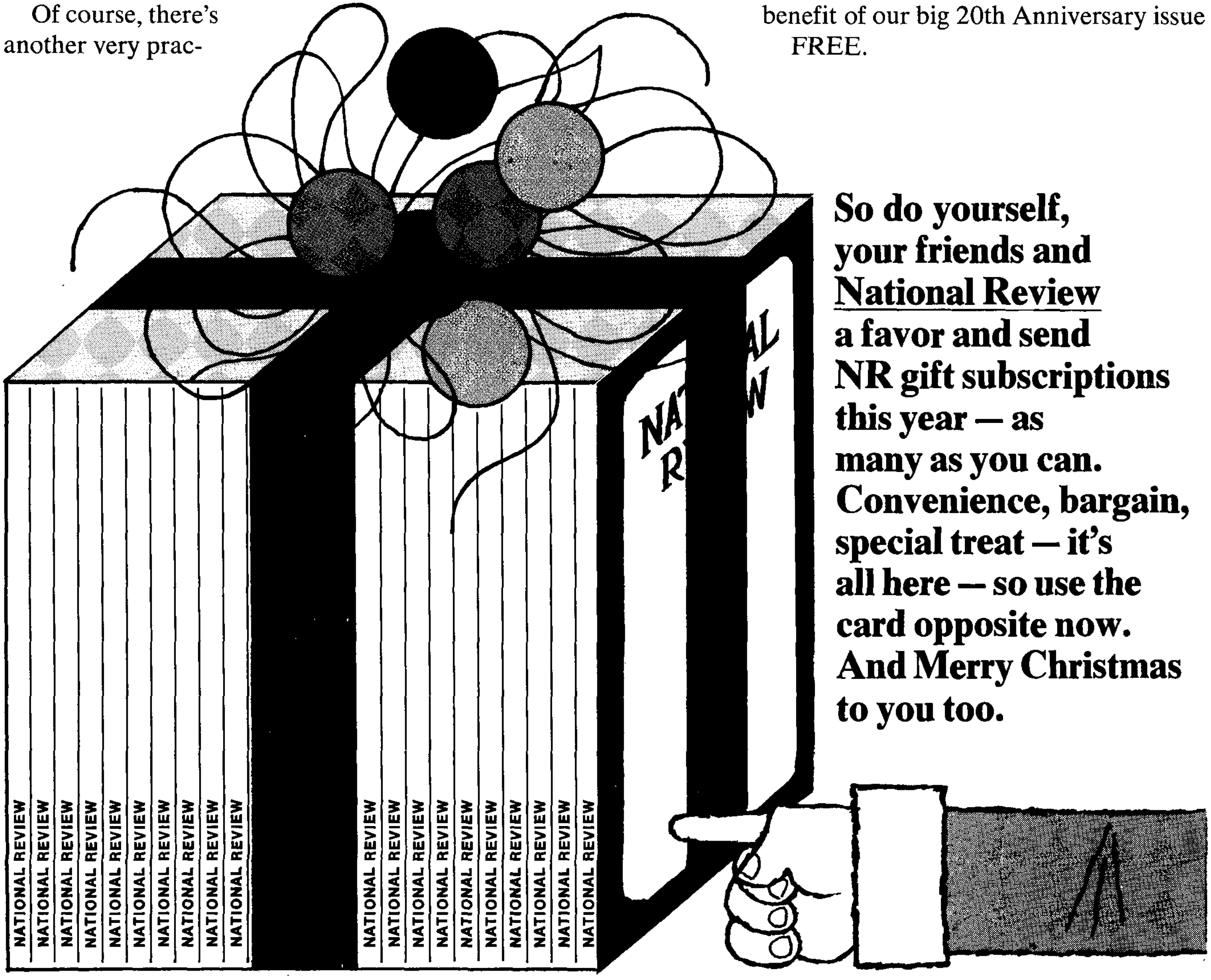
Give National Review...
The Christmas Gift That Lasts All Year!

This year say "Merry Christmas" to discerning friends with *National Review*. It's an ideal gift for almost anyone you know but particularly for those special hard-to-please people (take a moment to run through your gift list with an eye to giving NR and you'll see just how true that is). It's a gift *anyone* should enjoy, especially in a *presidential election* year. And what better way to activate potential conservatives you know?!

And this year, with every gift subscription (to friends, relatives, students, etc.) we'll not only send a handsome gift announcement (*you* indicate how you want the gift card to read) we'll also see to it that each recipient gets a FREE copy of our big 20th Anniversary issue as an *extra free bonus*. It's an impressive gift; a real collector's item not to be missed!

Of course, there's another very practical reason for giving *National Review* this year. It's one of the easiest ways you can find to do your Christmas shopping. You avoid all those annoying hours of trying to get waited on, standing in line, wrapping, mailing – we'll handle everything *for* you if you just give us your instructions on the handy reply card facing this page (if the card does not have enough space, use your own stationery to enter as many additional gift subscriptions as you want at our special Christmas rate).

The price *is* special too: just $12 for each gift subscription (provided you are a subscriber) and you don't *do* or pay anything extra. All *you* have to do is take a few moments to fill out the postpaid card and drop it in the mail. We take care of all the details – truly an effortless way to handle your gifts this year. And remember, your friends get the benefit of our big 20th Anniversary issue FREE.


NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NATIONAL REVIEW
NA R
AL W

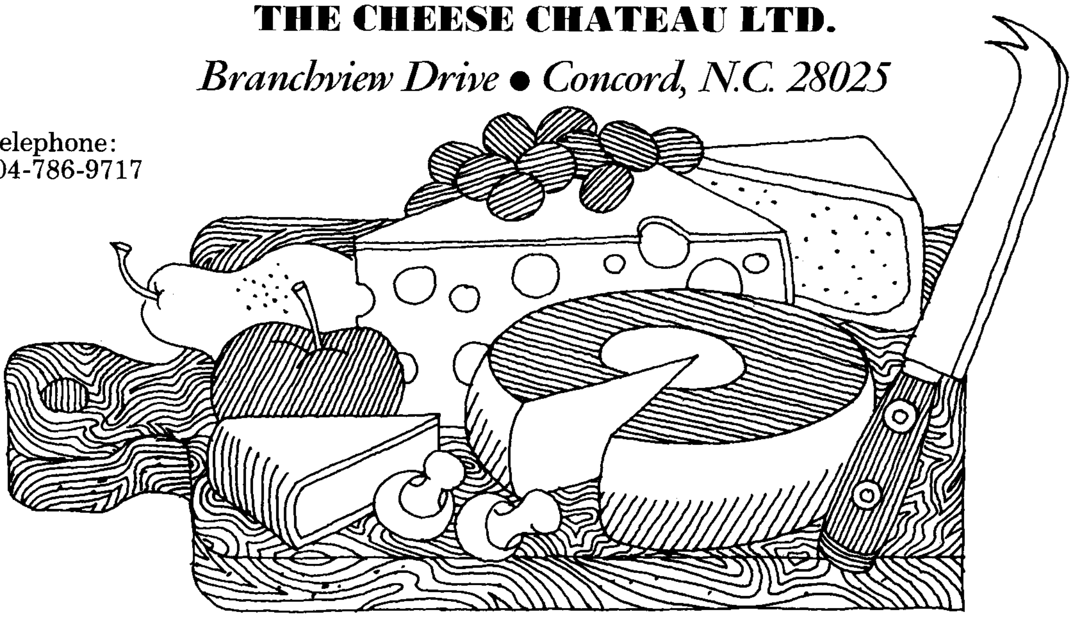
So do yourself, your friends and National Review a favor and send NR gift subscriptions this year – as many as you can. Convenience, bargain, special treat – it's all here – so use the card opposite now. And Merry Christmas to you too.

“Let Us Send Your Friends a Gift”

THE CHEESE CHATEAU LTD.

Branchview Drive • Concord, N.C. 28025

Telephone:
704-786-9717



Domestic and Imported Cheeses, gifts and beverages.

Come in and visit Mr. Curlee for personal attention.

Agricultural & Industrial Chemicals Inc.

665 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

an independent company

Agricultural & Industrial Chemicals Inc. has no corporate ownership or affiliation with any producing company or group. It is therefore a totally independent trading company handling and specializing in: EXPORT-IMPORTS ☐ MARKETING ☐ DEVELOPMENT ☐ TRANSPORTATION ☐ FINANCING

trading in...

A&ICI trades, primarily but not exclusively, in the following industrial and fertilizer materials: SULPHUR, PHOSPHATES AND POTASH ☐ ALL TYPES OF FERTILIZERS ☐ AGRICULTURAL CHEMICALS ☐ INDUSTRIAL CHEMICALS ☐ BASE METALS ☐ SPECIALTY EQUIPMENT

Associated companies and representative offices world wide. At your service.

TELEPHONE: (212) 644-0970 TELEX: RCA: 224355; ITT: 420261; WU: 125301; TWX: 710-581-2952; CABLES: AGRINDE, NEW YORK

One of a series of reports on the first hundred years of the telephone.

The Bell System didn't just happen. It was planned, right from the start.

Alexander Graham Bell

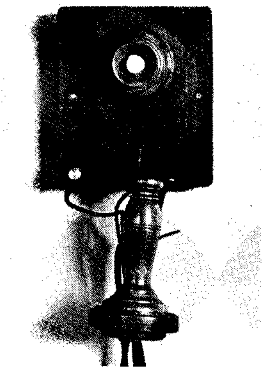
Theodore Newton Vail

Thanks to Alexander Graham Bell, all nations have telephones. Thanks to Theodore Newton Vail, the United States has the world's best telephone system.

Theodore Newton Vail was the first General Manager of the Bell Telephone Company. He was hired in 1878, when the telephone was two years old, and 10,755 sets were in service, most of them in the Northeast. His vision of what the new invention could become equaled Bell's own.

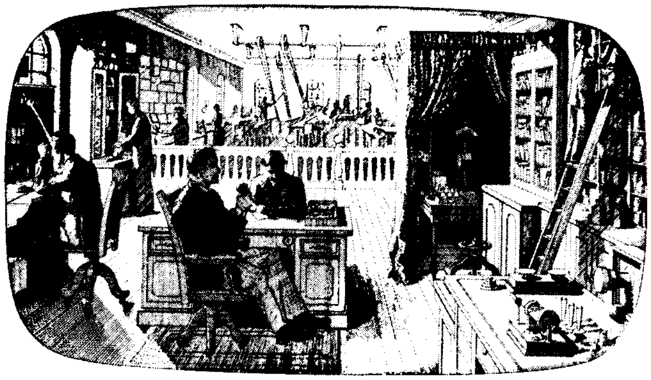
Both men saw that the success of the infant telephone industry depended on offering customers an integrated nationwide telephone system. The goal, as Vail later phrased it, was "one policy, one system, universal service." "The strength of the Bell System," he wrote, "lies in this universality."

Vail's economic insight was remarkable for his day. He was managing a new kind of enterprise, one of the first of what we now call technological industries. He saw that technology gave birth to the telephone, and that technology also imposed new requirements on the managers of the business. Manufacturing telephones required a large commitment of capital, for specialized factories. Improving the telephone required coordination of research efforts, plus more capital for laboratories. Marketing the telephone successfully required reasonable assurance that supply and demand would keep pace with each other. Vail realized that the only way those requirements could be met was for management to plan every step of the enterprise, from sources of supply to customer orders.



Vail's ability to plan turned Bell's invention into the best telephone system in the world.

Contrast the case of the manager of a simpler business—a small bakery, for instance. The manager has great freedom. If cake doesn't sell, he can bake bread. If white bread doesn't sell, he can bake rye. There is no need to commit large sums of capital, since the same ovens serve for all three products. No research effort is required, since the recipes are well known. If the price of flour goes up, the manager can raise the price of bread immediately. If demand varies, he can bake more bread or



The predecessor of Bell Telephone Laboratories: the Bell company's Mechanical Department in the 1880's.

less. The technological industry, by its very nature, lacks such flexibility.

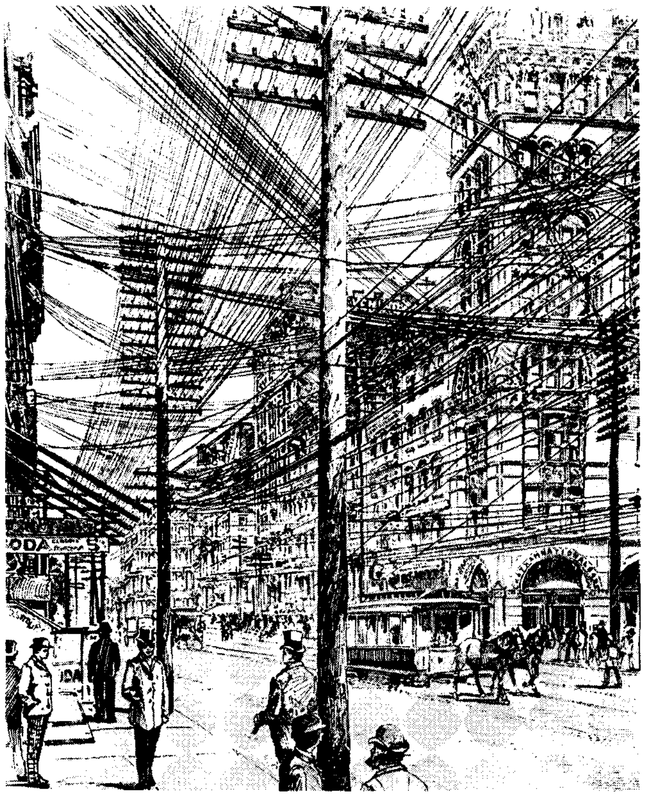
The first telephones were made in a Boston machine shop. Demand soon outstripped capacity, and firms in several cities were licensed to make sets under the Bell patents. Vail wanted closer integration of manufacture, to assure the company's service objectives. In 1881, the Bell company acquired controlling interest in the Western Electric Company of Chicago, and in 1882, made that company the manufacturer of Bell equipment.

This arrangement was desirable for a number of technical reasons: quality, reliability, standardization. Vail also had a strong managerial reason. The Bell company's business was providing telephone *service*. Success depended on having a dependable supply of quality equipment needed for the service, at a reasonable cost. By integrating manufacturing within the Bell company, Vail took a long step toward that goal.

At this point the groundwork was laid for a nationwide network. In 1884 the first Boston to New York line proved that commercial long distance telephony was possible—and profitable. Vail and his associates organized an additional company, whose corporate charter put Vail's dream in black and white. Its business was to be "constructing, buying, owning, leasing or otherwise obtaining, lines...and equipment, using, operating or otherwise maintaining, the same....The lines of this association...will connect one or more points in each and every city, town or place, in...the United States, Canada and Mexico, and also by cable and other appropriate means with the rest of the known world...."

Despite all the progress made, Vail saw a basic threat to the industry. Although it was growing, the quality of the service it provided was deteriorating. Some of the earliest equipment needed to be replaced. Rapid expansion was causing growing pains. Vail knew these service problems must be dealt with. But the Boston financiers who determined company policy felt their primary duty was to maximize profit for investors. The financiers represented the thinking of the day; once again Vail's ideas were decades ahead of his time. In 1887, Vail felt compelled to resign. For the next twenty years, he followed telephone developments as an interested outsider.

In 1893 and 1894, the Bell telephone patents expired. New telephone companies sprang up almost overnight, many of them in cities already served by Bell companies. Since the wires of the new companies did not connect with Bell wires, their subscribers could not talk with Bell subscribers. In order to be in touch with all the telephones in town, stores and offices had to have two telephones. That meant two directories, two sets of wires—and two bills. Nevertheless, demand for all telephones was soaring.



Broadway and John Street, New York City, 1890. Vail succeeded in getting the city's wires put underground.

The new companies grew, the Bell affiliated companies grew, the confusion grew.

Growth brought financial problems. Earnings, handsome as they were, were insufficient to finance such rapid expansion. (The telephone industry is a capital intensive industry.) Bell management borrowed more and more money from big banks. By 1907, lenders were getting hard to find. Then came the Panic of 1907. To protect their interests, the bankers demanded that telephone management invite Vail back to run things. Vail accepted the invitation. That year there were 3,132,000 Bell telephones in service.

Vail's return to command restored the financial community's confidence in the Bell company, so towering was the reputation he had built. Improving the quality of the service was his first concern. He made sure that concern was understood by Bell people throughout the land. Thanks to their efforts, and investment in needed equipment, service improved.

Further improvement depended on improving telephone technology. Research was going on in various parts of the company, in various cities. To encourage better planning and coordination, Vail unified the research effort. And he directed the researchers to examine at once a new device, the audion tube invented by Dr. Lee De Forest. Working with De Forest, telephone researchers developed the vacuum tube electronic amplifier, which greatly extended the range of long distance service, and led in time to commercial radio and television.

Duplicate telephone companies in various towns were incompatible with good service. Waterworks and electric companies were recognized as "public utilities," granted exclusive franchises for geographical areas. Vail believed that same reasoning applied to the telephone industry. He set out to eliminate the duplication by buying out the rival companies where that was possible, or selling out to them in some towns if that was the only way. In 1913, as a step toward universal service, he agreed to allow the independent (non-Bell) companies to use the Bell long distance lines.

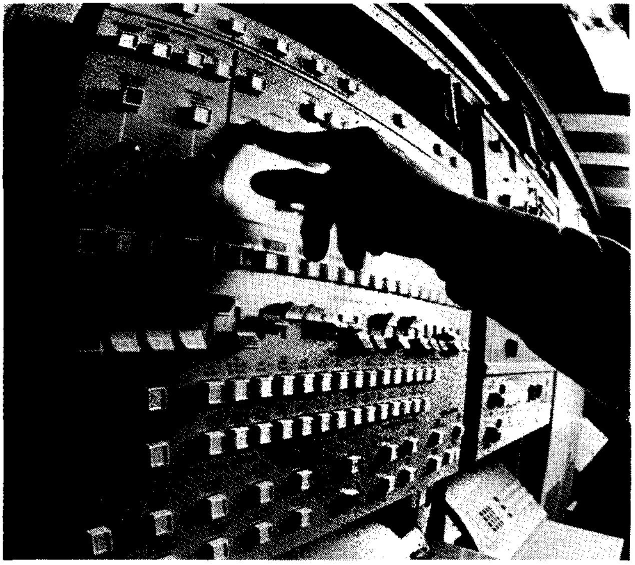
Now Vail could speak confidently of a *telephone system* rather than a large number of isolated, unconnected telephone companies. He was the first to use the phrase "Bell System." He could look to the day when telephone service would be well within the means of the average American. And that gave him the final element in his planning: he could make long-range estimates of the needs of his customers.

The chain was complete: research and development, an efficient source of supply in the Western Electric Company and total responsibility for installation, maintenance and repair in the local companies.

Because Vail could plan in this way, the company could invest the necessary millions in equipment for current needs, and in research for predictable future growth.

The Bell System continues today in the pattern Vail set. Not as a matter of tradition, but because the concept works. We are planning today American telephone service for the 21st Century. Western Electric and the associated Bell Companies are installing new electronic switching systems nationwide, which make possible many additional telephone services. Scientists and engineers at Bell Laboratories, birthplace of the first electrical digital computer and the transistor, are working now on new technology to transmit telephone calls on a beam of light, to handle calling volumes expected by the year 2000.

Research, manufacturing, operations —one Bell System, a planned approach that works. Efficiency and productivity are well ahead of the average for all other industries, the system is the best in the world. There are two tests you can make yourself to see if the Bell System really works: Compare telephone prices to the price of almost anything else over the past twenty-five years. Long distance service is one of the few things that have hardly gone up at all. Other telephone services have gone up far less than the price of almost anything else you buy. The economics of a planned telephone system have surely been to the customer's benefit. What about the service? Well, just pick up your telephone. Call any number in the United States.



Electronic switching systems, a thousand times faster than the equipment they replace, are now being installed across the nation.

The best telephone system in the world didn't just happen. It was planned that way.

One Bell System. It works.

Bell System

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

PREHISTORIC MEN DID NOT EXIST: LIBERAL PROFS SAY "ALL A HOAX" PEKING, JAVA BONES POLYSTYRENE

THE SEXUAL RECESSION: SCREW MAG SHUTS DOWN

"The closet's empty. Every damn thing came out," said Al Goldstein, editor of *Screw,* in an exclusive interview. "The fascist government did it. That Pervert's Equal Employment Law: GM and ITT went nuts hiring token transvestites and shoe fetishists, most of them frauds. Now you can declare your mistress a dependent and your ben-wa balls a medical expense. Sex was a natural resource, we squandered it. Now and then somebody procreates, big deal. Everyone's playing canasta again."

Screw's circulation has been limited to public libraries required to subscribe by the Pornography Access Law. Last May *Penthouse* closed its doors for "Lack of Interest." *Playboy* continues in a new senior citizen format geared to its chain of nursing homes converted from the original bunny clubs. On Monday the Interior Dept. instituted a WPA-style program in forestry for unemployed prostitutes.

"We have an inalienable right to some repression," said Goldstein, "I get more kicks from a parking ticket these days. It's a crime

(Cont. P. 26)

Bingo Games A Red Front

Several hundred million dollars is funnelled annually to Peking through innocent-seeming small-town bingo games the FBI disclosed today.

"Since 1960," the report stated, "over 8000 American nationals were trained in China to be volunteer firemen and Catholics. Nearly one third were women of 70 years and older who wore orthopedic shoes. These men and women then infiltrate bingo games in pairs, one as caller, one as player – apparently they specialize in large round robins and the letter H."

A spokesman for the Catholic archdiocese of New York said that "The plot strikes right at the heart of religion

(Cont. P. 28)

RUSSIAN SUB FOUND IN LAKE CHAMPLAIN

A Russian nuclear submarine, apparently brought to this nation piecemeal in diplomatic pouches, has been sighted off Plattsburgh, N.Y. Citizens of this peaceful town who have often found garbage with Russian labels, including several dozen vodka bottle, adrift on lake waters were evacuated early this morning.

On the House floor Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) termed the Russian move, "A breach of diplomatic courtesy. They park their cars everywhere, one DPL beat me to a fireplug last week. And now this –" Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) called the action "Overhasty. There's bound to be some danger to marine life."

US forces on Lake Champlain have atrophied since 1814. However, several small craft, including six two-man paddle boats from a nearby resort, have been commissioned by the Navy and given the temporary designation "8th Fleet" under Rear Admiral Perry Hazard, whose first succinct report stated, "we have met the enemy and they are extremely unpleasant." The Burlington Ferry

(Cont. P. 21)

USAF NUKES INDIA ATTACK IS TERMED "100% EFFECTIVE"

In response to a remark by the late prime minister Indira Gandhi of India that "The U.S. has done nothing whatever to solve the population problem in underdeveloped third world nations," Sec'y of State Henry Kissinger ordered the subcontinent and, incidentally, Mrs. Gandhi annihilated.

On "Issues and Answers" Mr. Kissinger called his decision "One of the most efficient uses of irony in historical annals." Mr. Kissinger also noted that the Ford administration had pledged to rid itself of "sacred cows" in U.S. foreign policy. "And," he said "we've done just that. About twenty million of them."

The Indian ambassador, Dr. Harry Krishna, sent a stiff note of protest to the President who replied that, "Since Dr. Krishna now represents only himself, his credentials are seriously in question."

Air Force Chief, Gen. George Blam, said the attack was useful in determining the effectiveness of nuclear weapons in limited strategic situations. "I love curry myself, but we had this surplus hardware on

(Cont. in Sports Sect.)

Home Defense Installment #9: Avoiding Your Own Land Mines

By JEFF HART

As we have stressed again and again, home defense is a project for the *whole* family.

Last week John Burch of San Diego accidentally pushed his portable barbecue over a land mine planted by his 16 year old son, John Jr. There were no injuries, but Mr. Burch's "Genius at Work" apron was ripped to shreds by shrapnel and several hot charcoal briquets set fire to the roof of a VFW Post three miles away.

Again: Mrs. Augie Murphy planted her entire corn crop over a nest of "bouncing Betty" mines set by her husband. Fortunately, Mrs. Murphy weighed 109 pounds at the time, just under the 110 pound trigger tolerance. "Scared me half to death when Augie told me after. I'd been away two weeks to see old Aunt Lil. Trouble was I put on five pounds and couldn't get under 110 in time to harvest. Lost my whole crop."

These incidents were *avoidable*. It *is* important to move your mines around now and then. It's *also* important to tell other members of your family where they are. Designate one night a week as "Home Defense Night." Any child over five should be able to recite the family mine list by heart. Mr. Tom Patton had to be lifted from his own backyard by helicopter when he couldn't recall if his mines began at the wash-line or at the bird-feeder.

The suburban lawn will have to go. Learn this little mnemonic poem, "What you don't mow will grow/what you do mow will blow." A tall patch of burdock or thistle is a dead give-away. Japanese rock

(Cont. P. 31)

Yale Team Unearths The Garden of Eden In Stamford, Conn.

At a tumultuous press conference yesterday, Profs. Serge Kantrowicz and John Frog, spokesmen for the Liberal Fraternity of Anthropologists, admitted that "The so-called record of prehistoric man is a careful forgery maintained by scientists in the interest of mankind for over two hundred years." Public pressure has been brought to bear on the LFA ever since Jack Anderson reported that the words "Made in Newark" had been found on an Australopithecine skull purportedly from the Olduvai Gorge in Africa. Prof. Frog said: "It's a dreadful setback for science. The long knives of superstition will be out now. It's tough enough to get a federal grant in my discipline." When questioned, Frog agreed that "The age of man, as we know him, coincides with Old Testament genealogies. Four or five thousand years, you add it up." When asked about Christian theories of divine creation, Frog croaked, "There's no plastic Jesus on my dashboard yet."

This followed an announcement on Monday by Yale archaeologists that a site, "remarkably similar to Genesis descriptions of Eden "has been excavated outside Stamford, Connecticut on the site of a proposed condominium complex called Paradise Plaza Homes. In March, 1975 a backhoe scraped earth from what has been described as "The petrified Tree of Knowledge." Fossil remains of a huge serpent were found coiled around its trunk. A blood-stained hoe with the letters CAI on it was also unearthed, but Stamford police felt that the statute of limitations had run out. Angelo Cantani, president of Rebozo Construction Corp., and owner of the site, told reporters, "sealed bids have gone out to Great Adventure and the Disney people. If they can't come up with a competitive offer, we got to go ahead with Paradise Plaza, Bible or no Bible. I'm as religious as the next guy, but I got a payroll to meet."

Land values have risen in the area since March. Already a steak and chop house called Adam's Ribs has opened just

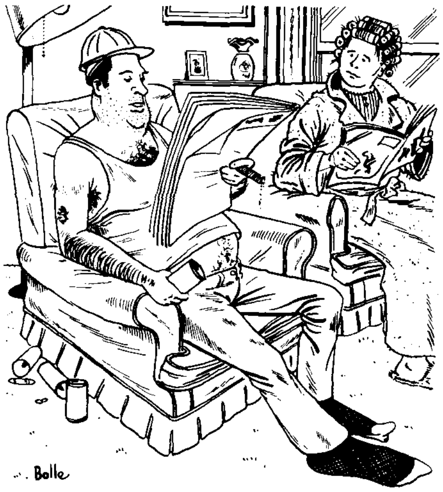
(Cont. P. 35)

FOR THE RECORD

■ GOP moving toward unity: At secret Bohemian Grove meeting last week, **Gerald Ford** offered vice presidential nomination to **Barry Goldwater Jr.** . . . Democratic front-runner pinpointed: **Victor Lasky** hard at work on *Chili con Carnage, The Strange Career of Carlos Chavez*. . . . But dark horses continue to proliferate. Out in Kansas, longtime GOP liberal **Alf Landon** (remember?), out of closet at last, has switched registration to Democratic. Observers in Topeka think move is first step.

■ New flap coming: **Betty Ford**, in an interview next week with **Lewis Mumford**, will cheerfully admit she often showers in the nude. . . . Media oddly silent on interesting connection between would-be assassins **Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme** and **Sara Jane Moore**: both had acne as children. . . . Justice **William O. Douglas**' pacemaker in a quiver over **April Gomez**, candystriper he met while in intensive care unit recuperating from recent head cold.

■ Left snickering over revelation in **Clyde Tolman**'s *Forty Years with the FBI* that **J. Edgar Hoover** did indeed sleep with a night light. So, according to Tolman's recollection of Hoover's famed secret files, did **Norma Talmadge**, **Frank Nitti**, Sen. **Theodore Bilbo**, **William Z. Foster**, **Gerald L. K. Smith**, and **T. A. Edison**. . . . **Ralph Nader** rumored to be working on blockbuster exposé of the Judaeo-Christian ethic: tentative title, *Unsafe in Any Pew*. . . . "Clear **Alger Hiss**" forces, at first jubilant over master mechanic **Otto Brenner**'s success in exactly duplicating Woodstock typewriter that convicted Hiss, now backpedaling embarrassedly. Brenner's machine, we come to find, types only in German.



"Sez here they've taught chimpanzees to talk. Another Third World nation in the UN."

■ Deaths of Moscow Circus aerialists **The Flying Plevatskys**—all 17 of them—in London performance last week explained: Plevatskys were not aerialists at all, but KGB agents. . . . Irrepressible **John Lofton**'s phone bill for October totaled $5,786—"Up a bit," says Lofton, because of repeated attempts to reach Chairman **Mao** for comment on reports of his death. Try person-to-chairperson, John. . . . **Nixon** memoirs coming along slowly, say sources inside San Clemente. **Rose Mary Woods** erased 1932 last week.

■ Just unearthed in *NR* stockroom—a few thousand copies of scarce 12" LP recording of Manhattan Young Republicans' 1959 testimonial dinner for **Malcolm Wilson**. Highlights include young **Bill Rusher** telling the one about the Irishman, the Frenchman, and the Pope. Yours for just $5.95 (mono only). Supply limited so send now to "Oldies but Goodies" c/o NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

■ **Jack Anderson** so flattered by reports he was object of Watergate assassination plot that, insiders say, he almost wishes it had come off. . . . Also on the take-a-leak front: CIA stoolie **Philip Agee** claims that ITT conspired to start a series of devastating earthquakes in Chile during the **Allende** regime "by wiring the Andes with a massive amount of stereophonic equipment." . . . Meanwhile the Left remains silent on strange disappearance of **Chappaquiddick Bridge**. . . . **Ronald Reagan** in the wings: Influential source says he is only waiting for Nov. '76 election results to judge Ford's strength before making a decisive move.

■ Bright spot: **Venice** disappeared during the high tides of last October—a major victory for Italy's Christian Democrats. . . . Detente-minded Soviet leaders have turned to consumer goods. According to *Pravda*, a team of scientists has just invented **suspenders**. Problem: black only. Red, yellow, green in the works for 1981. No progress yet on **pants**. . . . Newest UN General Assembly member—**Easter Island**—not yet represented. EI officials fear a delegation would reduce the population critically. . . . Latest on **marijuana**. Independent studies on mice have shown conclusively that immoderate use impairs ability to drive stick-shift cars.

■ Signs of the times. **John Screvane**, convicted of garroting three small children in 1971, was released on appeal because he didn't have court-appointed lawyer with him at time of crime. . . . N. Y. City sanitmen, angered by austerity layoffs, have begun returning garbage from the dump. Deliveries are four times per week, "To show," says union head **John DeLury**, "that America still has the most productive working men in the world."

■ Going the rounds in conservative intellectual circles, **Eric Voegelin**'s crack to **Karl A. Wittfogel**: *"Dasein, ja: das wahre Wesen, nein!"*

Letters

South Georgia

Until I read James Burnham's column [August 6], I was unaware that the island of South Georgia was an important link in the U.S. strategic defense system. Thank you for making me aware of this newest front in the ceaseless struggle between the oppressed peoples of the world and the forces of Amerikan imperialism. I recognize, of course—as does Burnham, whose links to the CIA are well-documented—that regardless of which of the three contending parties—Britain, Argentina, or Howard Hughes—wins control of South Georgia, Pentagon ruling circles will permit no interruption of their oppression and exploitation of the people and penguins of that unhappy island. Watch, running dogs, for the full-page ad my friends and I will place in the *New York Times*, announcing our ad-hoc Committee to Aid South Georgian Freedom Fighters.

Aspen, Colo. GNOME KNEEJERK

All too typically, the Judas goats at NATIONAL REVIEW labor to conceal the real significance of the South Georgia flap. Burnham—whose ties to the Trotskyite-Communist SWP are well-documented—adroitly omits to mention that handing over South Georgia to the InterCommZionists was given Priority A at the last meeting of the Bilderberg conspirators, held on Bill Fastbuckley's nuclear-powered tugboat off Sandy Hook last February 12—after which investigators found an argyle sock, size 11 (the exact size worn by Cyrus Eaton!), hidden in a wastebasket.

Vail, Colo. WILL S. CARTEAUX

The Acne and the Ecstasy

I must take the strongest possible issue with Dr. van den Haag's neo-irredentist, hence partisan, contention in his review [Sept. 9] of Mr. Witonski's essay denouncing the spurious *Weltschmerz* of Prof. Gerhart Strauss-Leddihn's recent classic, *A Revised Theory of Heraldic Taxonomy and Equitation*, that Dr. Kissinger actually implied, rather than failed to deny, that he is the progeny of Mme. Schwartzkopf an der Nase by a previous visit, making him the illegitimate half-brother of Wernher von Braun. The actual truth, of course, is, uh, that, uh, is something else; I forget. But van den Haag is a dirty old man, that's for sure.

New York, N.Y. T. SEAN PETROGRAD

Oinkonomics

J. K. Galbraith's dramatic revision of the supply and demand curve ["The More Pork, the Less Bacon," Sept. 23] certainly deserves thoughtful consideration by all learned economists. But MV=PQ, and it follows that if the net aggregate demand for tailfins in the rational Managed Sector exceeds the supply in the Classical Wisdom Sector, the price of pork in constant dollars will indeed rise. In fact, the price of pork always rises.

Chicago, Ill. M. FRIEDMAN

Your Grammar Wears Combat Boots

What Professor Kenner fails to consider [August 6] is that Eliot generally used "the" as an optative rather than ablative verb, for obvious reasons.

Ivory Tower, Ga. J. J. STANDARD

Mano off the Track

D. Keith Mano's Gimlet Eye, "Chickie on the LIRR" [Aug. 20], was a shameless outrage. The teenagers of Baldwin, L.I. do not—repeat, do not—stand on railroad tracks to see who will "chicken out" first. The sordid fact is that Mr. Mano paid my son, John, and his friend Peter five dollars apiece to stand in front of the 6:15 express from Penn Station. My son won, naturally, but the locomotive came so close to hitting him that it unbuttoned his placket. Is this what you call responsible conservatism?

I'm sick of Mano's moralizing about the middle class. "These are the ceremonies by which our young are initiated into manhood." Nonsense. My John almost got himself initiated into Ronkonkoma, that's all. And listen to this: "Chickie is male, you can smell its rut." The truth is, Mr. Mano, that my son is a homosexual and proud of it. Just how far will you go to get a column?

Baldwin, N.Y. BETTY PROLE

Well, I've got a bear-baiting set up in Prospect Park for January and two guys promised to strangle a duck for me if I came across with fifty clams—I'm dickering, it's hard to get 1,000 words out of one duck. As for John, he's a born loser. Five bucks, man I wunta done that idiot gig for 15: scared me gasless and I was 100 yards away. Wondered why he had buttons instead of a zipper like the rest of us real men. —DKM

■ SPECIAL HARRIET VAN HORN ISSUE

The idea of the caricature will not go away. It is best executed by the enemy, but the enemy demands more pay. So we turn to our own. **Keith Mano** suspends work on his latest novel and undertakes the editing of an issue designed to exaggerate the weaknesses of NATIONAL REVIEW's regular contributors. He finds it distressingly easy to do. He seeks the assistance of the experienced killers on the *NR* editorial team. . . . **C. H. Simonds** is not only a versatile craftsman who can do everything, he worked at *NR* for seven years, until going off to a country school to teach the Kids good manners before it was too late. (Editor Mano has requested that we do not identify the individual executioners, lest there should be a strain when portraitist and subject meet. Insiders may effect a correspondence.) . . . **W. F. Rickenbacker** also worked at *NR* for a number of years, before withdrawing to write novels, fly airplanes, edit economic sections, and practice the piano. Bill had no trouble. He merely slipped into another gear, without having to change equipment. . . . Again, **Tim Wheeler** is an ex-con; gone off now to the country, whence he submits wry editorial paragraphs. To get a caricature out of him, you have to water down his ordinary prose. . . . **Joe Sobran** is on the staff, and (hint) one of the other contributors, who also writes a column, is Sobran's victim in the current issue, if you can stand a little incest, and why not, it's private morality, isn't it, and you don't legislate morality. . . . **Bill von Dreele** is of course our poet. His job was the hardest. A self-caricature. He sought to take his usual elegant stuff and make it gross. He succeeds, and Editor Mano is well pleased. . . . **Bob Tyrrell** is the founder and editor of *The Alternative*, the go-go conservative monthly driven by good humor, good sense, and a total lack of inhibition. . . . **Christopher Buckley** is a double entry. He made two submissions, one of them an affront to the editor of the parody issue (it appears here), the other an act of parricide, which appears in "Notes on a Twentieth Anniversary."

NR

PREHISTORIC MEN DID NOT EXIST: LIBERAL PROFS SAY "ALL A HOAX" PEKING, JAVA BONES POLYSTYRENE

THE WEEK

■ Same time, same station. In American Samoa, during a malaria epidemic that took eight lives, the Society for the Preservation of the Anopheles Mosquito (SPAM)—an ecology group financed by *Natural History* magazine—poured gallons of hot chocolate into the gas tanks of three planes used for insecticide dusting. In San Francisco, seven teenagers have OD'd on Nyquil: worse, some 20,000 little green bottles were exported to Turkey, causing violent official protest; apparently Nyquil impedes the efficiency of poppy pickers. In Houston, Mrs. T. J. Glebe, wife of a wealthy real-estate speculator, was kidnapped by the SLA and held for a quarter-million dollars' worth of One-A-Day Vitamins to be distributed to poor Chicanos. Unfortunately, that same afternoon, Mr. Glebe was abducted from his office by the Puerto Rican Liberation Front and held for a quarter-million dollars' worth of platform shoes to be distributed to poor Puerto Ricans. Mr. and Mrs. Glebe have no living relatives. SLA and PRLF are now said to be negotiating the release of someone. Both sides have retained William Kunstler as counsel.

■ Congress has passed Ted Kennedy's controversial house-busing bill. Since white resistance to forced busing has been based on long travel distances, a selected number of suburban homes will be moved into ghetto areas and a corresponding number of tenements will be moved, complete with open lots, piles of garbage, and junkies, to suburbia. Washington, D.C. has been exempted.

■ Medical Notes: Red China's 82-year-old Chairman Mao Tse-tung just passed his yearly physical. Dr. Hsing-ling, who has served as Mao's personal physician for the past 52 years, reports that the Communist dictator "is in the pink. He looks as good and functions as well as he did when he was eighty-one."

■ Ted, Scoop, Ed, Jerry, Sissie, Tip, Sargent, George, Hubert, and Birch continue to run Number One among Democratic presidential hopefuls, depending on whose poll you buy. However, the results of an unusual poll conducted in the U.S. Senate cast a new blush on the complexion of the race. The hundred senators were asked who is "best qualified to be President"? Ninety-nine senators tied with one vote each. Senator Vance Hartke (D., Ind.) polled seven.

■ Prox is at it again. Seems the National Science Foundation and its predecessors have spent over $1.5 million keeping a chicken gizzard alive since 1939. We're just lucky FDR didn't appoint it to the Supreme Court. NSF allocated another $75,000 last year to study whether navel lint can or cannot be recycled into new undershirts. And yet another $150,000 was set aside to determine the percentage of males who hold their nose to the left or right of the female nose when kissing. (An exact matching grant of $150,000 was pushed through by Equal Rights advocates to study the position of female noses.) It can get worse: six Medicare orthodontists in Brooklyn have been indicted for putting braces on men and women with dentures at taxpayer expense.

■ Getting around the SALT giveaway. Air Force strategists have MIRVed 300 Greyhound tour buses. Right now these are parked at an undesignated West German drive-in theater. Total firepower equivalent to 300 billion tons of TNT: range about 500 miles at 55 mph, depending on traffic. Before she gets mugged, an old lady with an umbrella has first-strike capability, too. Sit back and leave the fallout to us.

■ Congress has passed a bill requiring that motorists drive with their airbags inflated at all times. "This," said a Naderite, "will prevent more accidents than any other safety measure to date. It will virtually prevent left or right turns, by far the largest cause of fatalities." As a rider to the bill, Schwinn Co. has until 1978 to install training wheels on all new models.

■ The Federal Reserve, in constant dollars, is roughly equal to an inverse proportion of the buying power of government securities, which accelerate inflation and tax incentives by deficit spending, based on real income that accrues with the loose money program, since interest rates, in any case, would be near 5.5 per cent of the cash stock, eased by tight money policies that have to be financed, more and more, by extravasating higher yields around a private capital study, depleted already by unemployment and a high inventory in the near future: the assumption being (as free market analysts have guessed) that rapid money growth will offset borrowing on attractive prophylactic measures and, therefore, increase con-

Kiss This

Kick the dog and beat the cat;
Rocky's talking through his hat.
Goodness gracious, what a botch!
Let him have it in the crotch.
(Liberals who never loin
Ought to get it in the groin.)
Teddy, Javits, Humphrey . . . Ugh!
Kindly pull the bloody plug.
Eenie, meenie, mynie, moe,
Bella Abzug is a schmoe.

W. H. VON DREELE

sumptives who are, on a cost-efficiency basis, inefficient as a promising source of mortgages that will decline, it is hoped by Democrats, to the magic number of 8.7 and buy votes in November.

■ Pope Paul, in a compromise with radical Catholic forces, has declared that "he is not infallible, but right pretty much of the time." In his encyclical, *Menze a Menze*, the Pope declared that he would allow a female pope "only over his dead body," which is just about as infallible as you can get these days.

■ The National Teachers' Union, bargaining for more religious holidays, has promised not to strike. Instead, it has instituted a "misinformation program." Pupils will be taught incorrectly until Boards of Education give in. Already the Elizabethan *f* has been substituted, as in "*Greenfleaves*," and the times table has been Romanized: VIII x VII=LVI, making long division considerably longer. Phys ed instructors tell their gym classes to run from third to second to first, and kindergarten teachers explain that the sun is a three-way bulb constructed by utility companies, for the use of which we are all billed at the end of the month. The "job action" is in support of teachers who have specialized in remedial courses.

■ District Court judge Thurlowe Marx has ruled in favor of a Gay-Lib suit against restaurants, hotels, and movie theaters in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Now, along with the usual facilities marked "Men" and "Women," there must be a third area marked simply "Others." A flush beats a straight anytime. Next, Women's Lib will tell us that "going to the john" is sexist.

Cato, RIP

On Tuesday, November 11, Wolfe Griegl died peacefully of catarrh on his army cot in the boiler room of 150 East 35th Street. He was 84. To most of us at *NR*, Wolfe was the super "super"—the man who always had a cheerful smile and a way with washers and stuck windows. We tried to give him a couple of cigarettes whenever we could.

But a chosen few at *NR* knew that Wolfe had been our Washington correspondent, "Cato," for over 15 years. It happened by chance in August 1959, when the radiator in my office was going one-on-one with the air conditioner. I found Wolfe by the boiler, typing in his undershirt—he was a two-fingered typist, having lost the other eight escaping from Hungary during the 1956 uprising. Griegl had been born the son of a Croatian father and a Latvian mother. Since 1957 he had been producing a modest newsletter, *The Cro-Lat Liberator*, dedicated to the freedom of those oppressed peoples.

Despite the perspiration that fogged my contacts, I saw at once that Wolfe was a master prose stylist though he had come to English late in life: about three months before. I took off my shirt and asked him then and there to be our Washington correspondent. Griegl signaled for a "c'gret" and tapped the metal plate in his head—I'll never forget that characteristic Bok! Bok! (he had been brained during the Russian takeover of Latvia)—and said "N'goot." He wouldn't leave the Cro-Lat community in New York, then numbering 14 men and one child. I said, no problem, *NR* couldn't afford to send him to Washington anyhow. All he'd have to do was give a rightward slant to what he read in *Time* and *Newsweek*, which he could pick up, as I do, at Lapke's barbershop.

So it began, a close collaboration. He worked for a carton of Marlboros per thousand words—half our page rate: he was a man to whom money meant little—and would always wink when he emptied my trash basket. He used the pseudonym "Cato," because he had an old aunt in Cro-Latvia.

The West has lost another dedicated freedom fighter and Catholic. But I know St. Peter welcomed warmly that strong two-fingered handshake. —WFB

Yesterday Was Better

Take me back to Homer;
  I'm in love with Troy.
Whisk me back to Palestine
  When Herod muttered, "Oi!"
Picture me with Louis
  Burping on his throne.
Give me modern plumbing, and
  I'd be a saint with Joan.

W. H. VON DREELE

Notes & Asides

■ Memo to: WFB
From: NSH

At last, dear Bill, the results of our Umpteenth Annual Delectations Cleverness Competition and Fish Fry! Competitors, you will recall, were to compose a grace to be uttered before some famous meal.

The winner of the Grand Prize is Mr. Sohrab Crouch of Petrolia, Ill., for his blessing to be used at one of Lucretia Borgia's sinister banquets: "*Morituri te salutamus*." Mr. Crouch wins an autographed copy of my indispensable *Cooking of the Balearic Islands* plus a set of ha-ha cocktail napkins someone sent me as a hostess gift last year.

Second prize goes to Ophelia Bunn of Sacramento, Calif. Miss Bunn imagines that gourmet papa of antiquity, Saturn, saying, just before devouring his children: "Fee, fi, fo, fum! Look out, tummy, here dey come!" Have fun, Ophelia, with your prize: my long-out-of-print *Patagonian Cookbook.*

Trimalchio Svendsen of Albert Lea, Minn. is my unanimous choice for third prize. His grace, to be uttered just before Hugh Hefner's *bar mitzvah,* is too, too deliciously depraved to print in a family magazine. Interested readers may learn it by sending me a stamped, self-addressed plain brown envelope. To Mr. Svendsen goes my up-to-date, soon-to-be-remaindered *Cuisine of the Ross Ice Shelf.*

Honorable mentions to Mr. Bob Herrick of Hesperides, Mich., for his charming rhymed grace; and to Miss Sylvia Belljar of Parts, Unk., for having Marie Antoinette begin her last meal with a reminder to be "ever mindful of the kneads of others." And a discreet *digitus medius* to E. Gein of Bedford, Ind., for his thoroughly disgusting suggestion for the Donner party, and to several persons whose names shall not sully my Smith-Corona, for their tasteless proposals for the Last Supper.

■ Dear Billy:

For twenty years I have renewed my subscription every time I got a notice from your circulation department. I just don't know what to do with all those books they send as premiums. I've been putting them up in your room, but that's full up to the little mark where I measured you on your fortieth birthday. Now I'm starting on Jimmy's room.

Billy, are you sure you're cut out for this line of work? ASB

P.S.: Your laundry is ready.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am ten years old and have your picture right over my bed, next to that awful Figgy Calabrese who won't even look at me. I always watch your TV shows and I love the way you eat your pencils. I think you are very intellectual and should be next president of Connecticut.

The reason I am writing, would you come and speak to my fifth grade class? They won't even let us say prayers here. Love and XXXXXXXXX
Mary McNally

Mary, my foot. I can tell when some cheap school principal is trying to beat me out of a lecture fee. Get Figgy Calabrese. —WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Thought your readers would like to know that I BRAKE FOR CATHOLICS bumper stickers are available at $1 apiece from Box 112, Subvatican, Ill. Also, HONK IF YOU THINK MARY WAS IMMACULATE and DON'T SPAY CATS AND DOGS (sponsored by The National IUD for Animals Association, headquartered at *Triumph* magazine).

In 1976 we will be offering at least three sizes of priest's hole for those who want to hear a Latin Mass in defiance of episcopal authority. These are made of sturdy plywood under a subcontract from the Port-O-San Corporation. They are cunningly designed to look like your average moth closet. Small size (recommended for priests under 5′2″) will run $177.50. Large priests, add approximately $10.50 per extra inch. Sliding panel for confessions extra. Hope you will pass this along.

Blessings,
Fr. Benedict 3X

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have been reading NATIONAL REVIEW for years. This summer I took a course in remedial English, and now I *understand* it.

Cancel my subscription. Uneleemosynarily,
Ernestine Sadat

■ Mr. Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn will make his 81st annual lecture tour of America this January and February. Mr. K-L, an authority on all subjects, including authority, is, of course, our Austrian correspondent and a well-known author, journalist, and demagogue. Inquiries should be respectfully addressed to him at: Youth Hostel #3, Lans, Tyrol, Austria. Special requirements: lectern, water, and a box of Sucrets.

■ Memo to: WFB

From: WAR (Member, Commanderie de Bordeaux)

Again you show an abysmal ignorance in the matter of fine wines. 1963 was *not* a good year for St. Emilion.

Memo to: WAR

From: WFB (Commander, Commanderie de Bordeaux)

1963 was not a good year for *your* St. Emilion. Move up to Shop-Rite. **—WFB**

To a Mysterious Poetentate

I toast the sublimity
Of one who coagulates the mother tongue
So drilely, so slilely, so verseatilely
While he wilely
Lurks,
Practically unsung,
Behind the shelter of pseudonymity
Which irks.
If we all concentrate hard,
One day we may hope to discover the true identity or
even gaze upon the face of the floorroom bard
Who uses the peculiar appalachian Johannes Eff.
Not that it makes any deff-
Rence.

JK

Turning-Point?

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

As the Soviet hegemony acquires mastery of more and more territory year after year no matter what regime or what party is in power in Washington, it becomes obvious to the objective analyst that the protracted conflict must issue in victory for the Communists—barring any fundamental change in the economic, sociological, and psychological realities of the American political scene.

The possibility of just such a fundamental change now exists for the first time since 1932. Nothing is more tricky than to identify a crucial turning-point in global dispositions of power—for it is power that determines the political arrangements we shall live under. A new orchestration of power requires new names, and new looks at entities with already familiar but perhaps, or certainly, inadequate names. We must, if we are to understand the shifting vectors in a moment of global rearrangements, get back of the names of things and try to see them for what they actually are.

Reflecting on these matters, I think of Trotsky's brilliant chapter in his *History of the Russian Revolution*, where he analyzes the duality of power lodged in the Duma and the Workers' and Peasants' Councils. Power—sovereignty—cannot be dual. It must be unitary. In true Hegelian terms, the old Duma (*thesis*) was threatened by the new councils (*antithesis*) and a totally new dispensation, that of the Bolsheviks, must result (*synthesis*). The objective analyst of the American political scene in recent decades must recognize a similar ambiguity in the locus of political power. Is it in the Congress? In the President? In the courts? John C. Calhoun argued the theory of the concurrent majorities, implying just such a duality of power that is usually impossible to maintain for long. But the majorities Calhoun reckoned with were not merely majorities at the polls, but majorities of the affected populations. When, as in 1974, only a third of the people actually go to the polls and vote, *it is impossible to identify any majority at all, unless it be a majority that is at odds with the entire American political system.*

There is, then, a dual sovereignty in America today—the sovereignty exercised by Washington in default, and the latent sovereignty of the majority of the American people. That these two sovereignties must come into conflict is inevitable. The most cursory glance at the major problems of the American polity brings to light a cluster of Hegelian categories begging for some new resolution.

The Two Majorities

Take, for sample, taxes. One faction argues they should be abolished altogether (*thesis*). Another faction sees nothing wrong in 100 per cent tax rates (*antithesis*). A new and growing faction argues for constitutional limits on the total tax bite (*synthesis*).

Military defense? Let's go for total victory over the Communists (*thesis*). Let's follow policies that will guarantee total defeat (*antithesis*). Let's beef up our military forces so that no one will dare attack us, and we'll live in peace (*synthesis*).

Governmental power? Let's draw up a scheme for a totally anarchic society (*thesis*). Let's proclaim a "national plan" for total nationalization of the economy (*antithesis*). Let's admit that government is necessary, but let's keep it as strictly limited as possible (*synthesis*).

Now it so happens that an objective analysis of American politics in recent decades will show that the Thesis and the Antithesis have been growing ever more sharply defined, as if predicting the imminent birth of the Synthesis. The Thesis positions sketched above (necessarily brief and crude), of course, belong to the ideologues of the Right—anarchists, conspiracy freaks, "retreat" consultants, historical revisionists. The Antithesis positions belong to pacifists, ecology freaks, overpopulation weirdos, defeatists, socialists. It is perfectly clear that *both* groups are fanatics. They are abstractionists, cultists, bores, extremists, exclusionists, patriophobes, ideologues, Europe-followers, academicians, mandarins. They do not command a national constituency, they never have, and they never will.

What of the Synthesis people? The objective observer, whether he approves or disapproves of what he sees, is duty-bound to report the existence and growth of a political movement that represents the Synthesis outlined above—a movement which, at this moment, controls 40 per cent of the delegates to the next Democratic convention and is headed, of course, by Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama. Where the ideologues of the "Right" and "Left" are abstract, Wallace is folksy and concrete. They are cultists; he is a traditional American populist. They're dull windbags; he's a platform performer of the first rank. They're extremists; he seeks more and more to express "the happy medium," as he expressed it in a recent interview with an editor of this magazine. They're exclusive; he'll sit down and talk reasonably with anyone. They're ideologues; he's a pragmatist. They're drenched in European writers and myths and interpretations; he's indigenous. They're academic; he's practical. They're, for the most part, mandarins, gentry, to the manor born; he's a self-made man.

After Arizona, Alabama

Almost ten years ago (March 22, 1966) I noted in these pages that the East Coast liberal ideologues had lost touch with global realities. And I added, in the heyday of Goldwater and Lyndon Johnson, that the "small town" roots of certain American politicians could serve this country better than outmoded creeds buried in ivy. "Today," I wrote, "in the age of missiles and aerospace, it may be that the still wider ranging vision of the entire globe—and of the reaches of space beyond it—emerges more naturally in the clear air of Texas and Arizona." It is as true today as it was then. Only, now, we should add Alabama.

If the signs are true, and if a genuinely national constituency puts a traditional grassroots American into the White House, the Soviet hegemony may well mark this as a turning-point in its own fortunes, too. And, at last, for them it will be a turning-point for the worse. ☐

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

About Journals, ForSooth

Oft meseems the night deepens round us—and never more so, than when Your Servant inspects the wares of the newsvendors. Even here in bucolick Mecosta, I find offerred the sophistries of *Time*, the crude mendacities of *Newsweek*, the Benthamite ravings of *U.S. News & World Report*, crowding out such worthier publications as *Farm and Fireside*, *The Sewing Basket*, and *The Michigan Fruit and Vegetable Reporter*—doomed all, I fear, to go the lamentable way of *Collier's*, *The Delineator*, *Niles' Register*, and *The Rambler*.

Alas! I had almost rather find displayed the polychrome pornographies of Hefner *et al.* For surely these "news" magazines are as dangerous to the moral fibre of our nation as the "girlie" journals—nay, more so, for are not buxom wenches one of the enduring norms of Western civilization?

But say not the struggle naught availeth, for Your Servant has hopeful tidings. Journalists who offer healthy alternatives to the shoddy received wisdom of the age are everywhere a-bustle. In this morning's post, for instance, I find Volume I, Number 1 of *Thinking Right*, the mimeographed journal of the Young Conservative Society of Northern Indiana State College.

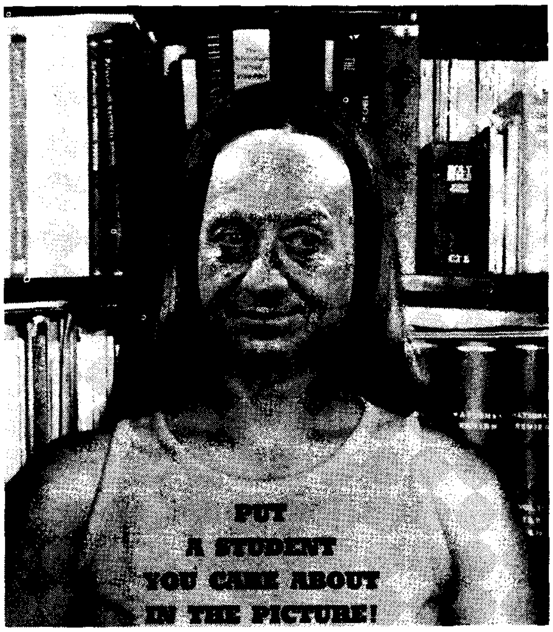
The editor of this estimable little publication, Mr. Dwayne Brunch, a comely youth to judge from his picture on the cover, is no hirsute ranter of Behemoth U. His prose, although marred somewhat by infelicities consequent upon a Dick-and-Jane education, is nevertheless infused with sturdy patriotism and humble piety. His well-informed essay, "How Marx Was Wrong about God," is especially worthy of notice.

Nor ought I to overlook a slim item I discovered the other day whilst languishing in the waiting-chamber of my chirurgeon: the March 1971 issue of *The Flag Forever*, published by the Deceased Baptist War Veterans of America, wherein I find such instructive articles as "George Aiken—Threat or Menace?"; "The Song of Solomon: Zionist Forgery to Pervert Our Sunday Schools!"; and "Interstate Highways: Red Road to Speedy Conquest!"

Then there is a charming little quarterly lately risen in the journalistic firmament: *Transactions of the New England Burkean Mossback Traditionalist Society*. Its editor, Squire Plumcheek Winkleby, is one of the "sights" of Salem, Massachusetts, where he is to be seen in all weathers perambulating in his garden, resplendent in periwig and snuff-stained gaiters. Although 87 years of age and subject to the ague, Mr. Winkleby can still spot a Jacobin at fifty paces; he inveighs against such perils as gaming, strenuous dancing, and the eight-hour day with the vigor of a man twice his age.

I might go on, but must be off and packing, forasmuch as I, my little girl-daughters, my lady-wife, and Your Servant's servant, the redoubtable Grimp (fast fellow with a toddy, Grimp, and death on poachers) depart on the morrow for our annual pilgrimage to the remote isle of Lesser Lynching, where we maintain a ruined castle of great age and impressive dimensions. There we will take our fleeting rest, far from the getting and spending and the dark, Satanick mills where change and decay in all around I see, and be lulled by the crash of the surf and the moans of the starving crofters.

I shall have more good news upon our return to these United States, and pray that till then the publishers of journals that merit the attention of my gentle readers will address copies to me in care of my solicitors, Chaos and Oldnight, Grymkirk Street, Edinburgh. ☐



Have you a student friend who's being brain-washed at some radic-lib, open-enrollment college? Balance that bleeding heart input with the perfect clotting substance: National Review. Just fill out the form below and for $23.95 we'll send him or her a subscription to *NR* plus—as a special bonus—a copy of the new, revised Vulgate. This is just 95¢ over the newsstand price, but it'll protect your student friend from seeing all those horrid girlie magazines and the *New York Times*. Frosh, Sophs, and Juniors only: our subscription dept. needs about nine months to process names through FBI and CIA channels back at least three generations. And remember, *NR* sells its mailing list to every right-wing organization in the U.S. and Latin America, so your young friend's mail box will contain at least one piece of inflammatory literature every day of the year!

Student's Name Please Print

Address

City State Zip

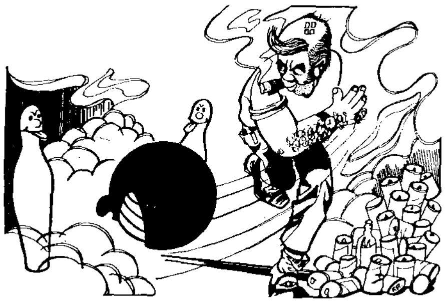
Arts & Manners

The GIMLET EYE

D. KEITH MANO

Black-Ballers

Rrrrrumble rumble rumble rumble rrr-crack! Ten-pins take a powder like hippies in front of an anti-riot tank. Whirrrr click click wackadee boom boom, the automatic sweeper arm slices down and across the buff-polished surface of the lane. Order has been restored. Jim "Jugaboo" Nuzzo steps up to the thin red line, holds the size 18 hard rubber ball in front of his nose. There is male intimacy there: man and ball alone. Lining up the shot is ticklish, more ticklish because Nuzzo's first shot has left two pins standing at either side of the lane: a nightmare split. Jim grimaces like a trucker who's just jack-knifed his rig into a ditch. This will take balls, more than one. Twenty-five hundred bucks; that's what Jim will walk away with tonight if he makes this shot. That's a lot of six-packs, friend.



"Jugaboo" Nuzzo is big in these parts: northwestern New Jersey takes bowling seriously. The Romans took Sunday afternoon at the Colosseum seriously. Ashurbanipal II took lion-hunting in chariots seriously. Me, I'm standing behind the pit. Just behind there's maybe 6,000 blackball freaks. In front a table is stacked with beer empties, civilian shoes, cigarette packs (no filters, filters are for fags), and Grip-Creme. Grip-Creme is lava soap without the soap: concentrated goo: one smudge of the stuff on your index and second finger and that twenty-pound hunk of rubber won't let go until you want it to. Grip-Creme, it's the wine and bread of this middle-class sacrament.

"Jugaboo" is sweating acid. Teammates are clustered in the pit, also representatives of several teams: the "Rare Spares," "Hummingbirds," "Generation Gap," and "Back Stabbers." Ugly customers, the "Back Stabbers." Windbreakers are stitched with the status patches of Middle America: Lions, Rotary, K of C. Rough stuff: truckers, cops, stevedores, men who just lift things for a living. The Power and the Glory. People who built this land. People who think New Jersey is the best you can say about America.

I'm not inclined to disagree. Half of this crowd here tonight climbed up Mt. Suribachi; the other half dropped into Tokyo Bay and made Tojo's battleships go kablooey. That's what Hortense "Jugs" Jones says anyhow. I figure Hortense is about 19 going on 30: she can chew two packs of Juicy Fruit with a menthol cigarette stuck in the corner of her mouth. Hortense is curious, maybe suspicious: she says I look "strange." I don't want to look strange. I roll up my T-shirt sleeves and let my tough biceps look out. Hortense is reassured. We "rap." Hortense is to Paramus Lanes what Susan Ford is to the White House: daughter/groupie/nymph. She has arms like : : : steel. She asks what I average; average is manhood here. I say, "Two-ten," substituting my weight. Jugs likes that. When you average two-ten, it adds cubits, man.

THE MOMENT has come: you could hear a ten-pin drop. He straightens. His right arm is six inches longer than his left: half *Homo sapiens*, half tree-swinging *Dryopithecus*. With just the subtlest touch of broken English Nuzzo lets fly: rrrrumble, rumble, rumble . . . eyeballs go dry with fierce openness. Pause. Kaaatok! "Jugaboo" 's ball nicks the pin on its left ever so gently; in accordance with Newtonian physics and in answer to "Jugaboo" 's prayer to St. Jude, it stumblebums off at an acute angle. Whack! The black globe kisses off the remaining pin. Hortense clears her mouth with a shriek: her nicotine-stained wad of Juicy Fruit splats into my lap.

"Jugaboo" has his spare, $2,500, and his name on a $2 engraved plaque. Hortense cries: her mascara is somewhere around her cheek bones. The "Back Stabbers" lift "Jugaboo" onto their shoulders, you can hear hernias pop. Like my high school football coach used to say, "Show me a good loser and I'll show you a loser." This is triumph: As the OT tells us, "Yea, they opened their mouth wide against me, and said, Aha, aha, our eye hath seen it. This thou hast seen O Lord: keep not silence. O Lord, be not far from me."

Jim "Jugaboo" Nuzzo has tapped the rich keg of victory: he's ear-high in foam. Forget all those things you hear about bowlers. Forget the middle class clichés. Twenty years ago Jim Nuzzo was nobody; now he's *Don* Nuzzo and smile when you say that. I think, as I scrape Hortense's chewing gum from my lap, yes, this is a mobile society. And that mobility is upward. Like I say, forget what they say about bowling. I have seen America. And the damned thing *works*. □

DELECTATIONS

NIKA HAZELTON

Along the U.P. of Mich.

While you folks have been spilling sangria on your madras pants, Mother Hazelton has been off on an altogether fascinating tour of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. It was my first visit to this unspoiled corner of the U.S.; it shall not be my last—if a small unpleasantness at the Beaver U-Serve gas station in Escanaba, with the sordid details of which I shall not bore my readers, can be straightened out.

The "U.P.," as its natives call it, is notable for the number of its trees and roadside taverns. The former are devoted to the manufacture of paper; it thrilled me to think, as I gazed at those miles and miles of prime pulpwood, that some of those very trees might someday be ground up to emerge as copies of NATIONAL REVIEW. (My husband, who was dyspeptic that day, remarked that they might just as easily end up as copies of *The New York Review of Books*. Every party has its pooper.)

As for the taverns: they are, dear readers, delightfully *gemütlich*. Their signs always proclaim them to be operated by couples (married, one may assume in this bastion of the Protestant ethic): Vi 'n' Stu, Slug 'n' Edie, Don 'n' Bea, Vic 'n' Dor—jolly folk all, given to raffish, homebaked humor ("NO CHECKS CASHED UNLESS OVER 70 AND ACCOMPANIED BY BOTH GRANDFATHERS," read the sign over one cash register) that shades into the Rabelaisian in the matter of restroom identification (my own favorite: Pointers/Setters). The selection in these taverns is, to be sure, limited: a request for Löwenbräu is met with incomprehension, and at one place the gentleman behind the bar (Len, as I recall) was so astounded by my request for Campari and soda that he called the local police.

But of course one cannot live by booze alone. The U.P. will surely become famous one day for its gastronomic specialty. Time and time again, we would see stands advertising "HOT PASTIES." Aha! thought your worldly-wise Mother Hazelton—here is where to buy those minimal body-coverings worn by exotic dancers! But soon I grew puzzled. Surely there could not be so many ecdysiasts in the backwoods! Stopping to inquire, I learned that the pasty is a turnover stuffed with meat, potatoes, onions, and other such. And the pasty, dear children, is tasty!

AFTER SEVERAL rebuffs from purveyors convinced that I was a spy for the competition (really, I ask you! A spy with New York plates and wearing a *caftan*?), I managed to extract a recipe from a Mrs. Harold Garlid, of Near Soo Junction. Mrs. Garlid, who urges everyone to call her "Moms," opened her pasty stand after the death of her husband, for forty years a brakeman on the Lake Superior and Ishpeming Railroad. "They ain't much," she says with unnecessary modesty, "but they keep me off the county, and let me go to a bingo at the Legion once a month."

Here is her recipe; I urge you to try it. (And before you write any unpleasant letters about the results, *please* check to be sure you turned on the oven. Really, sometimes you children are impossible.)

MOMS GARLID'S HOT PASTIES

2 Betty Crocker Pastry-Stix
1 oz. ground beef
1 qt. Crisco
10 lbs. potatoes
3 large onions
1 cup Accent
Salt and pepper

Roll out the Pastry-Stix (Moms always hums "Oh, Hide You in the Blood" while doing this). Brown the meat in the Crisco; dice and add the potatoes; mince and add the onions. Throw in the other stuff. Add a "mouthful" of water. Cut the pastry into six-inch squares. Put "about a glob or so" of this mixture on each square. Fold second base over home plate. Seal, using a little egg white or Elmer's Glue-All. Stab. Bake at 400° till the kids and Dad get back from McDonald's. □

LAND OF THE FREE

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

Sell the Spoils

Ordinarily, when reform is in the air, I hold my nose. Now, however, with Watergate and the Sunday Night Massacre behind us, it is high time for a *real* reformer to peddle his wares. Problems of appointment and succession demand new and imaginative approaches. And so, ladies and gentlemen, I give you . . . the free market.

I hear you groaning. "Is that all he can think of?" No, not all; merely the best. For perpend: the U.S. Government should auction off Cabinet positions. Impossible, you say? Preposterous? Not at all, say I: eminently practical.

I made this suggestion to a friend of mine, an old-fashioned swashbuckling entrepreneur who is ordinarily not at all averse to market solutions; when one of his daughters flunked fourth grade, he sold her. (I can't give his name: he is being sought by the busybodies of the public sector.) He saw my point at once. "Why, that's institutionalized bribery!" he gasped, not altogether unadmiringly.

Exactly. The best kind. Even John Henry Newman (not to be confused with Ludwig von Mises) has good words for it. It beats all the sneaking cronyism by which the offices are now passed around. Lease the Pentagon to the highest bidder. Let the Hunts and Gettys whip HEW and HUD into shape. Let Henry Ford decide whether to bail out Penn Central next time. (He can afford it better than the rest of us.)

Do I hear objections from the floor?

"We could never be sure we were getting competent administrators."

TRUE. Are we sure now? On the contrary. The political "marketplace" (a sacrilegious misappropriation of the term, by the way) is fiendishly designed to serve up ineptitude. But the bidding system would confine the selection to those who have shown their managerial skill where it counts. And the posts would change hands in a predictable way, stabilizing the system. Next objection, please?

"Selling offices goes against all our traditions."

What are the alternatives? We could elect all our Cabinet officers. Or we could make the positions hereditary. Or we could let them keep on buying their places as they do now, with favors to politicians and organized interests, paid for with your tax dollar and mine. I say let them pay with their *own* money. Next?

"It just isn't right."

Crap. Next?

"The federal bureaucracy would be chaotic."

It already is, silly, or haven't you heard? For another market solution to this problem, see my book *Bounties on Bureaucrats*. Next objection?

"This system would guarantee tremendous inefficiency. No Administration could possibly integrate or coordinate its social programs, and nothing would ever get done."

Shhh. Next?

"Is it really right or prudent to let private individuals have access to tax monies this way?"

No. But under my plan, they would have to spend their own money on any projects they undertook: farm subsidies, welfare handouts, battleships, guided missiles.

"But that in effect reduces the Cabinet to a part of the private sector. This is contrary to the whole idea of government."

I know that. Any more objections? No? Good. Now, ladies and gentlemen, what am I bid for Foggy Bottom? □

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

On The Right

Is Betty Ford a Moral Edsel?

London, Nov. 17—Concerning Betty Ford, a Philistine remark or two. First, in the formal epitrope, I defer to no one in my admiration of womanhood, as witness the fact that the national television audience has more than once had the occasion—for *pace* Vladimir Ulyanov, it isn't an irredeemable century after all—to savor my views upon the subject. One hopes young Susan will at least, as her mother would say, and in fact did say, "understand" my use of that preposition in conjunction with the First Lady.

Accordingly, I make bold to point out the social utility of simple everyday hypocrisy. Never mind that you know and I know there's a lot of it going around. Victoria, after all, wasn't weaned from Melbourne for nothing, nor did she kick up a public hassle over *his* private imbroglios. That's why the Duke of Argyll sniggered up his lace and spent the summer amongst the grouse, rather than face the upshot of a civility too unfashionable, or an attentiveness too debonair, for the canons of the regnant decorum.

Her attackers—I am speaking of Victoria—during that summer when the heather got a workout, were worse than incoherent. They were godawful bloody bores. Time and again, in the pages of Montagu, Desmoulins, even Wilmerding, to name only the most obvious *locos classicos*, you gag on their aspersions. I wonder what are they saying so tastelessly after all, if not that they wished there were a more sidereal degree of congruence between the public utterance of their sovereign and the unfortunately not sufficiently private undulations of her courtiers.

Their rancid acuity brings one, finally, to look up in exasperation and amazement. *Pu oculos*, wrote the Milnean moralist, *in coelum vertit, deinde sibilo iterum audito oculis sursum intentis ramos magnae quaercus scrutatus est et amicum suum quendam conspexit.* "A few eyes," that is to say, "turned green in heaven, while the gods heard the Sibylline oracle's eyes jumping in her head. Under their intense ray the plump fag got things all screwed up while his friend averted his gaze." The translation is mine, but the moral is universal. When such gaffes occur, people of taste look the other way. *Quaercus scrutatus*—and this was years before Judge Woolsey's landmark decision in the *Ulysses* case! The book (*De Vinibus Putrescentis*), following the custom whose most notorious devotee was Krafft-Ebing, was published in Latin to discombobulate the prurient. With the general decline in public morals a modern-language version, in a predecessor of Esperanto, was published in 1880 (*Kömomöd Monargän Ola, Jenomöz Vil Olik*) along with a bloomered introduction by Professor van den Haag.

One snakes along the line of their attack even as you and I might hug an Alpine defile. First they announce, with ostentatious dismay, the discrepancy to which I have already alluded. Then they take the dear lady to task for the statements of her predecessors, as if queenship fell under the doctrine *exclusio unius.*

After about A.D. 75 we seem to have fallen into awkward habits which show up nowhere so insistently as in the vulgar press: a day will come when the public decency will again have some claims on us that Herb Klein would call operative. Who should cast the first stone, and at precisely which target? I distinguish between the revolt of the masses and the licitness of outrage as a supererogation of the squeamish, but I draw the line at moral pirouetting.

I offer as a model the love of a Father for a Son, and hold, with Virgil, that we are nothing without our parents' forgiveness: ". . . *qui non risere parenti, nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.*" Which is to say, it simply isn't any fun, without our parents' blessing, to eat, drink, and make merry. ☐

Classified Advertisements

Situations Wanted

BRILLIANT, efficient, talented, modest Bryn Mawr grad seeks challenging position with ideas-oriented media operation. Phil major; French, some Spanish and macramé. Require executive/creative role: no interest in "Gal Friday" work. Salary negotiable. B. Hopeleigh, 7 Foxhunt Lane, Bronxville, N.Y. 10634.

TIRED of Manhattan rut: Jr. executive, late 30s, conservative-minded, seeks fulfilment as private school administrator, director of small foundation, perhaps manager of genteel tax-shelter business. No sinecure too trivial. T. Hepplewhite, 550 E. 79th, New York, N.Y. 10085.

Employment Opportunities

BOOMING Costa Rica beckons you! Low taxes, no bothersome extradition treaty, friendly natives work cheap. $5 brings full details. Write Vescorp, NR Box 97.

RAISE TERMAGANTS at home. Many folks up their income 50%. Up yours! Terma-Gro, Peking, Ill. 50697.

NR NEEDS BRIGHT, capable office assistant to sort mail, fill in on PBX, handle crank calls, deflect salesmen, remove splinters, fetch coffee, tidy up, sell subscriptions, plan rallies. Shorthand, typing, PhD required; some body and fender experience helpful. Write NR Box 911.

Real Estate

EXOTIC FISH, reptiles crowd the moat of your dream castle in the Berkshire Hills. Cross the picturesque drawbridge, stroll under the electric portcullis—into Camelot. Great hall with fireplace; scullery with all appliances; private chapel; tower suite with view. Dungeons, wolf-pit await your creative touch. Walk to shops, churches. MARCIA L. BURNHAM & ASSOC., Kent, Conn.

VOLCANIC jewel of the Atlantic! Ineffable Lanzarote has everything: sun, sand, curative thermal waters, missile tracking facilities, Latin Mass. A few choice sites available, some with onion groves, but act fast! Your check brings deed by return mail. Trust me. Gus Ferbuckley. Write NR Box 1342.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom to its advertisers; however, as Milton Friedman used to say (or was it Marvin Liebman?), one man's freedom is another man's boiling point, so, to put it bluntly, nothing kinky, please, this isn't Screw **or** Saturday Review**. Get together, as Bill Rickenbacker used to say, have a coupla drinks, coupla laughs, maybe hold hands; no heavy petting or latex. —Pub.)**

FORDHAM GRAD, late 20s, wishes to meet nice Catholic girl to discuss Aquinas, Augustine, Chesterton, and all them guys. Photo a must. Write NR Box 5834.

CALIF. COUPLE into GOP, UROC, JBS, wish to meet other for mutual A&P, PG&E, M&M. No UFWOC, SWP, CPUSA. Write NR Box 2956.

SINGLE GAL, 40s, veteran of Polish ham card parties, Katanga rallies, Russian embassy picketings, recovering from flirtation with Objectivism, wishes to meet mature gentleman to discuss what it all means. No libertarians, YAF longhairs, hyper-Catholics please—just a nice Wall Street type to take me to Emily Shaw's and tell me I was right all along to drop out of Vassar. Write NR Box 3983.

What happens to capitalism if we run out of capital?

In boardrooms and treasurers' offices across the U.S., that's Topic A today.

Capital formation has fallen off dramatically (catastrophically, some say).

And how can we finance future growth without it?

Business managers at a New York University lecture series dug into that topic two years ago—long before it made today's front pages.

In the same series they anatomized inflation and the energy problem. And a host of other now-familiar problems facing the economy.

The series? Eleven Key Issues Lecture Series at NYU, UCLA, Claremont Men's College and the University of Chicago sponsored by ITT.

Lecturers have included some of the country's best-known economists, business strategists, social philosophers. People like Jules Backman, Daniel Boorstin, William Buckley, Peter F. Drucker, Milton Friedman, Neil Jacoby and Walt Rostow.

Their subjects have been far-reaching, indeed. Multinational corporations. Labor and business, and how to get them together. Advertising's impact.

Most recently, the lecture series looked piercingly at the energy crunch, and the sometimes abrasive relations between government and business.

ITT has funded these lecture series—and will be funding more of them in the future—because we believe the more people know about our economy, the more they can contribute to it.

And that's where capital formation starts.

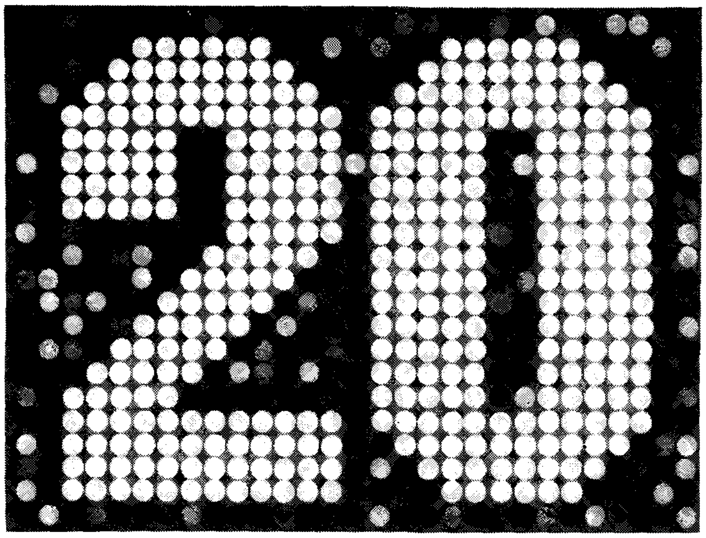
The first eight lecture series are now available in book form. The titles:

- *Business Problems of the Seventies*
- *Multinational Corporations, Trade and the Dollar*
- *Labor, Technology and Productivity*
- *Large Corporations in a Changing Society*
- *Social Responsibility and Accountability*
- *Government and Business—The Relationship*
- *Advertising and Society*
- *Energy—The Policy Issues*

If you'd like more information about the books, please write Key Issues Lecture Series, Department NR, Suite 1000, 300 East 44th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

The best ideas are the ideas that help people. ITT

International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, 320 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.



AMONG OURSELVES

Notes on a Twentieth Anniversary

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

To Remark the Fifteenth Anniversary of National Review Magazine [the invitation read], Nika Standen Hazelton and the Committee of Sponsors Request the Pleasure of Your Company at a

PERFECTLY SMASHING
ABSOLUTELY WILD
KNOCK-DOWN DRAG-OUT
NO HOLDS BARRED GREAT BIG
NOISY UNINHIBITED BRAWL OF A
PARTY

And there we all are at New York's Tavern-on-the-Green. It's November 12, 1970. Nixon has been President two years. Daniel Ellsberg and Watergate lie ahead. A week earlier a conservative was elected to the United States Senate—from New York—on a third party ticket! Whooping cheers as a tired but jubilant Jim Buckley addresses the crowd: "Greetings, fellow nightriders of the Right" (the *New York Times*' designation); and merrily he quotes from a *Newsday* columnist:

> It crept in during the night. It was hanging over the city when we awoke yesterday, gray and imponderable, like the fog. Morning became afternoon and still it would not go away, the shame, the burden, the thorny crown of collective guilt. . . . On one dark day New York removed Allard Lowenstein from the House, and placed James Buckley in the Senate. That is enough dirty work for a decade. . . .

Everyone stays too late at Nika Hazelton's bash even though the editors know that tonight's jollities, dutifully photographed, suitably captioned, brilliantly recounted, must be transcribed into the big Fifteenth Anniversary issue that goes into the mail three days hence.

It will be another five years before NATIONAL REVIEW and a few of its fans and supporters (the Committee of Sponsors sent out invitations pursuant to an arcane formula, presumably dictated by HEW) meet again, this time at New York's elegant Plaza Hotel, five years that will have brought momentous changes. . . . Watergate: Agnew, Nixon, Ford, Rockefeller. Taps for de Gaulle, Franco, Haile Selassie, Mindszenty. Peking in and Taipei out. SALTs I and II. Detente. Death of an empire: a people's republic in Mozambique, civil war in Angola. Death of regimes: the Colonels, Caetano, Allende. The Paris Peace Accords. Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos down the drain; India gone authoritarian. Fighting in Cyprus, Lebanon, Ethiopia, the Middle East. *Gulag*, Solzhenitsyn in exile. Terrorism, the Olympic massacres, Lod, Patty Hearst. New York City bust, and about to be busted.

★ Meanwhile, at NATIONAL REVIEW there is also movement. Associate Editor Kevin Lynch has taken to sharing his lunch basket with Jim McFadden's secretary, Josephine Gallagher. Before the year is out, they marry. John Coyne heads for Spiro Agnew's staff. Bill Rusher loses a secretary. Priscilla finds out about it when WAR calls and asks if she has any ideas about a replacement. "I feel," he says, "a little like the Roman impresario who calls a talent scout and tells him, 'One of my Christians just died. Do you know anyone who would like a big night in the Colosseum—one night only!' "

In the issue of November 3, 1970 a new name has appeared on the masthead, Linda Bridges. Linda came to *NR*'s attention, age 19, when she joined a spirited Notes & Asides debate between WFB and Hugh Kenner on a nicety of phrase. *NR* waited two years for her to graduate from USC, and the wonder is that the magazine ever appeared before Linda. She sits in her small dark office, beneath towering piles of papers and reference works, her floor carpeted wall-to-wall with mounting tides of *New York* and London *Times*es. On the infrequent occasions when we allow Linda a vacation every tottering pile of paper is capped by a neatly lettered sign, "PLEASE DO NOT TOUCH: IMPORTANT!" And such is the affection for Linda that even the compulsively neat avert their eyes and let her office alone. Work and responsibilities are drawn to Linda as steel filings to a magnet.

★ On the whole 1971 starts badly. The night after the cleaning women threw away last year's Prophet of the Year entries—all four thousand of them—the Managing Editor discovers that somehow, somewhere, someone (she?) has mislaid the list of winners that was to have been announced in this week's magazine. Consternation. A frantic search. Even Linda's office is dismantled, paper by paper. (Messy Joe Sobran—there is a God in His Heaven—has mercifully not yet come aboard. When telephoning Joe, we have learned to wait at least four rings before hanging up: he sometimes has trouble locating his phone under the mounds of paper, six-packs, radios, lives of Dr. Johnson, suitcases, magazines, and unexorcised Garry Wills columns.) But it's to no avail. The Prophet of the Year winners have vanished. NATIONAL REVIEW sheepishly confesses to its readers, promises to double the awards next year, and waits for the roof to fall in. But our readers—stout fellows—do not complain.

★ Richard Nixon can't know it at the time but his world will start to unravel on that day in 1971 when Daniel Ellsberg gives Neil Sheehan of the *New York Times* the Pentagon Papers and the *Times* and *Washington Post* decide to publish them. Unwilling at any time to be outdone by the *New York Times*, NATIONAL REVIEW publishes its very own Pentagon Papers, "*ex nihilo*," as the editor will tell a thoroughly enraged press corps a week or so later, after *NR*'s papers have made front page news in America and been sent out over the air waves by Voice of America in "Armenian, Burmese, Cambodian, Chinese, English, Hungarian, Indonesian, Korean, Lao, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese" (*Washington Post*, July 24, 1971).

The day the story breaks, WFB is in British Columbia, WAR in London, Jeff Hart in Austria, and James Burnham is wandering about Rhode Island. Unable to reach any *NR* spokesman—PLB is hiding under her desk—the press checks with the VIPs mentioned as authors of the *NR* Papers. Dean Rusk says he's not sure he wrote a particular note but "it's entirely possible that I did." Frank Trager can't deny he and Douglas Pike penned a memorandum attributed to them although he doesn't *specifically* remember writing it. One former U.S. ambassador phones *NR*—he, at least, has caught on—and asks conspiratorially what *NR* would like him to say when the press gets to him. Harry Elmlark, Bill's irascible, lovable, and frequently puzzled syndicate agent, gets through to Priscilla. She assures him that *NR* has violated no secrecy laws. The thing's a hoax, she tells him. "Harry, it's a joke—j-o-k-e." Silence at the other end of the phone, then a prolonged splutter. "Well *I* don't think it's very funny to get *every editor in America* mad at you. Now Priscilla, admit it, that's not very funny." And when Priscilla recalls the exchange to another old friend of Harry's, Newbold Noyes of the *Washington Star*, the next summer, she finds he *still* doesn't think it very funny either. Nor does *NR* Publisher William A. Rusher, who is a) horrified at the thought that his irresponsible colleagues might have committed treason in his absence, and b) far from mollified when he finds they haven't.

★ And hoaxes beget hoaxes. It's winter of 1974 and "the Swiss edition," as the younger editors call it, is born, the idea having come to them like Venus rising from the Cypriot Sea. They will compose one entire page of editorial paragraphs, each carefully crafted to contain some element that makes Bill Buckley, editor, curl up inside: a grammatical error, a stylistic aberration, too many exclamation points, a vulgarism, an overworked cliché, an inept foreign reference, a tinge of kookery, a mention of himself.

Elsie Meyer, now working at *NR*, throws herself into the project with *élan* and turns out a paragraph, one of the best, which manages to include three exclamation points and the felicitous phrase, "before Britain, France and the U.S. saw the oil painting on the wall, as it were!" There are mentions of Justice William O. Douglas' "motorized old ticker," of John-John's pondering that his uncle "never seems to have swim trunks when he needs them." "*Quod licet Jovus non licent boves*, as Bill Buckley likes to say," is the final sentence of a paragraph about Bill ("let it grow") Proxmire. The bogus paragraphs, a montage in awfulness, are pasted into the issue of March 15, 1974 by Jimmy O'Bryan, *NR*'s perfidious Art Director, and exactly two copies sent to Switzerland where WFB has repaired for a month to write *Four Reforms.*

Back in New York the staff is on tenterhooks. What will be the reaction from Rougemont? Will Peerless Leader be taken in—even for a moment? The reaction is silence. Nothing. WFB has now taken off for Africa to tape some segments of *Firing Line.* Talk of lead balloons. A fortnight later, the unflappable Frances Bronson, Bill's glorious secretary, calls Priscilla. She is obviously flapped. Better brace yourself, she warns, there's a memorandum coming in like nothing I've ever seen from Bill before. It's addressed to Jim Burnham (who is innocent of all blame) and to PLB (who is not)—and it's a *cri de coeur*: "I was terribly distressed on reading the editorial paragraphs in the current issue," writes WFB. "The paragraphs, or a lot of them, are truly appalling. . . . How coarse to refer to Proxmire's hair operation. . . . The concluding sentence is a rhetorical disaster. . . . Why on earth make fun of Douglas' artificial heart? . . . I have begged everyone at *NR* not to use a Buckley joke or make a Buckley reference. . . . Is there a joke that escapes me in changing the nouns from dative to nominative? . . . I wish I could destroy every copy of this one. To bring Chappaquiddick into a comment on John-John's little boy excitement over a prize fight would, I should think, be blue-penciled in *American Opinion*. . . . How is one supposed to know, his name not having been mentioned earlier, who is Yuriii Arkadyevich Shikhanovich? . . . And why, oh why 'CFR-er David Rockefeller'? In one stroke we abolish the distinctions we have always insisted on between us and the Dan Smoots of this world. . . . The seizure of coyness in this section is quite impossible to understand . . . the parenthetical remark is on a level with 'Governor Malcolm Wilson (no relation to Harold!).' It makes me weep. . . . Why the exclamation point? By the way, the cumulative count on this page is now 5. . . . 'Saw the oil painting on the wall, as it were!' Oh no . . . 'Henry!' makes it 6. . . . I am very sad. We should see whether, for those weeks [when two of the senior editors are away, in this case WFB and PLB] other arrangements can be made, like having paragraphs completed by noon Tuesday. Or, judging from this batch, noon Sunday. . . ." The mice *will* play!!

★ But it's not all just fun and games. In the five years, 1971 through 1975, *NR* will publish first rate reportorial, analytical, provocative, and stylish articles. A sampling:

1971: Charles Benson's hypothetical seizure of Libya by U.S. troops, and the strategic case for it; Edwin Dolan's startling "Why Not Sell the National Parks?"; Ernest van den Haag's on-the-spot investigation of alleged U.S. war crimes in Vietnam; Alan Reynolds' "The Case against Wage and Price Controls" (Alan's first appearance in *NR*); Kilpatrick's appraisal of the first year of the Burger Court (Jimmy O'Bryan's cover design will win a major magazine industry award).

1972: James Jackson Kilpatrick loves it. He has been

Happy Birthday to Us

ONE SCORE years ago: *NR* arrived on the scene. Things were different then. Like the magazine cost less; and they didn't have Jeff Hart to kick around. Guernica indeed! I suppose one of these days he'll be saying it was the Jews that unloaded on Pearl Harbor. Nonsense: but look how far it's come: twenty years. As good a reason as any to crack a magnum. Or a few pinko heads. Yes indeed.

Birthdays are reincarnations: Mayday/St. Vitus Dance in one party cracker. Bang: you're old. To *NR* on this august occasion I have only pithy things to say: Better watch it; there are a lot of weird people out there. It'd be nice to be an editor and cultivate hemorrhoids on $79 swivel chairs instead of wearing down my soul/soles pounding the Gimlet Eye beat. What do editors know of the common man? Nothing. You think Buckley knows what it's like to eat souvlaki, sleep with Krishna Kids, or do deep knee bends with fat people at Overeaters' Anonymous? I work with my feet. He has chauffeurs.

Think the others are different? Take Burnham. Last time he talked to a hot dog vendor was at a four-star restaurant in Hamburg; the vendor was in white tie and the hot dog cost $25. Real man of the people. Rusher, McFadden, Priscilla Buckley: bunch of desk jockeys. Revolution occurs even in conservative circles, and twenty years is as good a reason as any to start now: gonna be some changes around here.

Don't get me wrong. We *need* a Great Leap Forward. I like to get close to the people, but I'm tired. Beginning to smell like them. You think covering Norman Mailer's birthday party was fun? You think making a dozen typically witty metaphors every two weeks is a breeze? It's like pulling hippo teeth with kite string. What do those bureaucrats on the third floor know? Swivel chairs indeed; they couldn't find Bleecker Street if Edmund Burke were throwing a block party there.

I'm new to this business. I'm an artist. Would you believe I've written six novels? Buckley writes books too, you may have noticed; but his sell because those turkeyheads in circulation give 'em away with subscriptions. Pretty soon the ad copy will read like those Late Late Show record commercials: "Subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW and receive a copy of *God and Man at Yale*; *Up from Liberalism*; *The Unmaking of a Mayor*; and five other of WFB's hot sellers." Then they'll start raffling off the old boy's handkerchiefs. Why not? With the mag in the lachrymose state it's in, I'd want the *Complete Shakespeare* before shelling out $15 for a year's supply of comatose conservatism.

Did I say comatose? I meant catatonic. After twenty years of Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, rug ads, and Buckley jokes, this whole outfit is ready for a long vacation. Like twenty years. Send them out to pasture. Let Rusher emcee the Miss America Pageant. Me, I've been the Gimlet Eye for a few years; between you and me, these columns make the rest of the material look like the Mojave Desert. And how often do *I* get a cover story? Solzhenitsyn isn't even on the goddam masthead; lately his stuff has taken up so many pages in this rag you could wrap a year's catch of Black Sea sturgeon with it and still have enough left over to blow your nose. Solzhenitsyn. That's all you hear. And don't think it can't get worse. Word is he's next in line for editor-in-chief.

Blini, anyone?

—CHRISTOPHER BUCKLEY

---

assigned the Democratic presidential campaign. His first profile, "George McGovern, the Prairie Preacher," is well received by all our readers but one, who comments, snippily: "Is a nobody like George McWho really worth seven pages of *NR*, and a big chunk of Mr. Kilpatrick's time? Talk about breaking a butterfly on the wheel." Kilpatrick pays his compliments to Hubert Humphrey and Henry Jackson before winding up with a brilliant and hilarious job on the chaotic Democratic convention, "Through the Hibiscus, Dimly." Alan Reynolds is the first to take a serious look at "The Economics of George McGovern"; an inmate of Attica during the riots paints a chilling picture of what was actually going on in Cell Block D while Tom Wicker and the others talked. A big debate on marijuana with Richard Cowan making an impassioned case for decriminalization, and *NR* editors Buckley, Burnham, and Hart going quite a bit (Buckley), partially (Burnham), and not at all (Hart) along with Cowan. We get lots of mail on this one.

1973: Jeff Hart raises some questions about Guernica, which excite new scholarship. We publish this too, under the heading "Getting at the Guernica Myth." Charles J. V. Murphy spins a fascinating thesis on "Who Killed Lin Piao?" and China scholar David Rowe of Yale unravels a few more threads of the mystery. Miles Copeland writes the first of many pieces on CIA, introducing *NR* readers to "Mother," "Kingfish," "Jojo," "Lady Windermere," and sundry other CIA characters Frank Church probably still knows very little about. Ronald Reagan tells *NR* readers why California voters turned down his constitutional amendment limiting taxation in the state ("Reflections on the Failure of Proposition #1"), an article which, given the state of the mails, is sent by telegram and arrives in a single take, 14 feet long (we measured). This conveniently allows Priscilla to start copy-editing it from one end and Elsie Meyer, in her office down the corridor, from the other, well, almost . . . Walter Berns reports on "The 'Essential Soul' of Daniel Berrigan"; Francis Russell's "Living and Dying in Boston"—about the young white woman who was set on fire and burned to death by a gang of black toughs—is, writes Theodore White, "probably the finest piece I have ever read on life in Boston"; and Colm Brogan is "The Man Who Went to Dinner" with Evelyn Waugh.

1974: Only *NR* carries both the full text of James Buckley's March call for Nixon's resignation and a lengthy rundown on the reactions to it. (Some of *NR*'s more impetuous readers don't wait to see what, in fact, *NR* thinks of Buckley's call for resignation; "Cancel My Subscription" notices come in by mail, phone, and telegram.) Jeff Hart, homing in on the question of the hour, discusses "The Presidency: Shifting Conservative Perspectives," and George Nash confronts "The Ordeal of Amnesty International." James Burnham first questions the accuracy of reports of

The Inside Story

Below are the staff of editors and the production and advertising and clerical staffs who, last year, brought out one thousand six hundred eighty-four pages of NATIONAL REVIEW — mostly editorial copy. Our advertising tail is not yet fully enough grown to wag the editorial dog, but (see this issue) we are force-feeding it. That's one and one-half million words per year; twice, come to think of it, what it took Shakespeare a lifetime to write.

1. **Bill Rusher.** He has many faces. William the Didact. William the Scourge. William the Dutch Uncle. William the Ideological Gyroscope . . .

2. Assist. Publisher **Ed Capano, Regina Finnegan, Jo Lynch** work overtime on computer slipup. **John Syze** (missing) reports some of our readers are missing.

3. **Jim McFadden,** when the renewal rate exceeds 80%. Other reaction shots censored. He dropped in, fresh from the army, 19½ years ago, runs the joint.

4. **Margot de l'Etoile,** saintly secretary to William Rusher. She favors an independent third party. If necessary, she will head it up.

5. **Priscilla** (the last name is unused), with **Dan Oliver,** Ex. Ed. She is amused, as usual, and the office smiles. Dan, a lawyer, can go along, or sue.

6. **George Will** wondering whether to bait the publisher, and deciding, predictably, why not? — where else is there a better show in town . . .

7. To editorial typists **Evelyne Kanter** and **Mike Watkins,** it's a snap. They can type *NR's* million and a half words of copy a year — going away.

8. **Frances Bronson,** keeper of His body, in her Eye of the Hurricane pose. She handles *everything,* and when on vacation is replaced by an IBM 360.

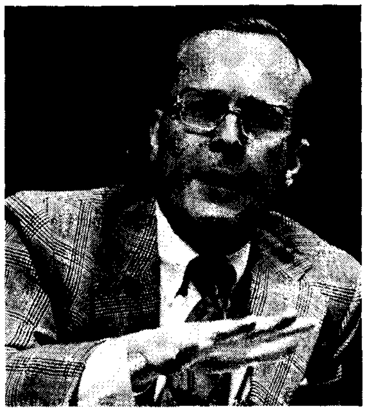
9. **Linda Bridges.** Mlle. la Rapporteuse se trouve dans son bureau, parmi ses livres, se demandant pourquoi a-t-elle abandonné ses études? — pour la *Revue!*

10. Editorial conference. **Joe Sobran** (Wills-watcher), **Kevin Lynch** (Left-watcher), **Jeff Hart,** who handles philosophy, art, literature, tennis, Dartmouth.

11. **Jim O'Bryan** the art director. Every year he wins prizes. Give him three hours and he will re-design the World Trade Center. Why is he so nice to us?

12. **Rob Sennott,** advertising director, with sec. **Judy Talbott.** Look at him. The sincerity. The desire to help you sell your product. How can you say no?

13. Artist **Fred Romary** on a hurry-up job for the Arts & Manners section. **Ed McFadden,** cover layout in hand, is not sure Fred's really got it.


1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

14. Rose Flynn, and assistant **Maria Traina.** Rose has been offered head job at Bureau of the Budget, but prefers major challenge, coping with *NR's* deficit.

15. Robin Wu, who on 10 minutes notice will give you the circumference of LBJ's liver, with assistant researchers **Henry Fasciani** and **Bill Hart** in the library.

16. Helen Puwalski. "Helen, would you call Neil Armstrong? On the moon." "Of *course.*" A Walton, she finds fish are harder to catch than the Prez.

17. Want your editorial mail answered, your manuscripts read, Chile overseen? Call for **Carol Learsy.** Her talents, be it acknowledged, beat her typing.

18. Madeline Graham, assistant bookkeeper, dreaming about prosperity. She also sends out the yearly fund appeal, and grows gaunt until the returns come in.

19. Tony Savage. Assistant Sec. to WFB. Part-time. The rest he spends pursuing his principal career as an actor. He recently refused offer as horse in *Equus.*

20. Editorial conference. "Do something on Bhutan, **Linda.**" "What shall I say?" "The appropriate things." Jim Burnham is absent today: The cosmos is uneasy.

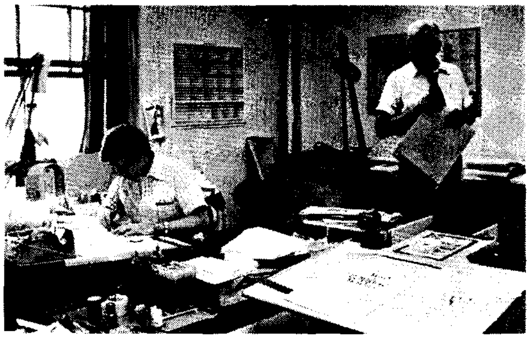
21. James Burnham, a founding editor. What you see here is the serenity of the man who knows it all. The lines reflect the Republic's indifference.

22. They can (almost) smile: Copy Editor **Vicki Marani** and Production Editor **Barbara Devlin,** even after reading proofs on the mammoth anniversary issue.

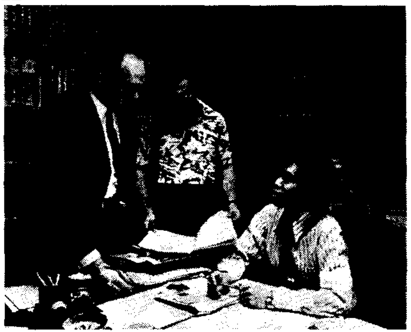
10

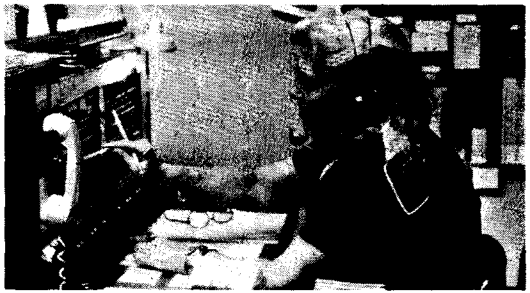
11

12


13

14

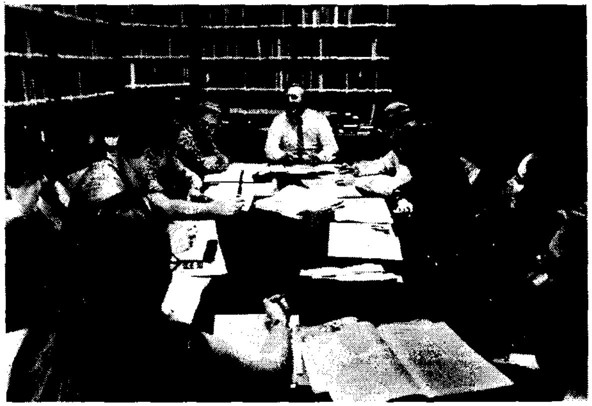

15


16

17

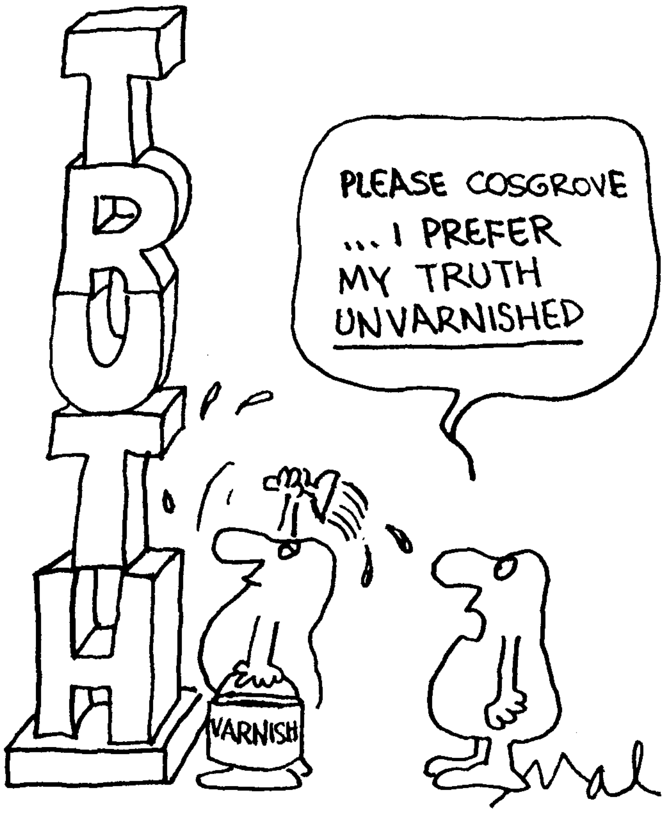
18

19


20

21

22


TRUTH
PLEASE COSGROVE ... I PREFER MY TRUTH UNVARNISHED
VARNISH

massacres by white troops in Mozambique in his column; Kilpatrick later tracks the story down and is able to report on "The Portuguese Atrocity that Didn't Happen."

1975: Conservatives want to know more about Ronald Reagan's performance in California than they can get in driblets and droplets. It's important if they are to support his presidential drive. Charles D. Hobbs answers their questions in "How Ronald Reagan Governed California." NATIONAL REVIEW is the only magazine in America to carry Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's press conference when he journeyed to Stockholm to receive his Nobel Prize ("Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn Speaks Out"); we also reprint his talk to the AFL-CIO in New York ("The Strangled Cry of Solzhenitsyn").

Robert Moss is a young Australian journalist who was named editor of the *Foreign Report*, the prestigious newsletter put out by *The Economist*, while still in his mid-twenties. Moss goes to Portugal for *NR* in late March to report on "The Making of Europe's Cuba," and to Chile later in the year. In the article "The Tribulation of Chile," he demolishes regnant liberal myths about Allende and takes a hard, non-hysterical look at the junta. . . . In "The Australian Lord Haw-Haw," *NR* reports on a libel case that backfired and revealed the Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett to have been not only a Communist flak, as most people had known all along, but also an aider and abettor of North Korean and Red Chinese torturers during the Korean War.

★ Readers have been known to complain of a certain note of levity, yea, verily even unto irreverence in *NR*, particularly in those short editorial paragraphs that lead off the editorial section ("The Week") each issue. But how better to sum up the events of November 5, 1974 than this: "■ What ever happened to George Foreman? What ever happened to the emerging Republican majority?" . . . There is a certain trenchancy in this comment, around the time of the missing tapes and Rose Mary Woods's stretch: "■ The current Administration has given a new meaning to the term 'unimpeachable source.' " . . . Haven't we all felt this way at some point? "■ It's time for our nap now. Will somebody please wake us when the Era of Negotiation, the Generation of Peace, and Phase II are over?" . . . Or how about the Mary Gauerke cartoon of two Supreme Court Justices deep in discussion as they leave the Chamber. "I may not agree with what we say," says one, "but I'll defend to the death Gloria Steinem's right not to reproduce herself." (There's a touch of the nearly inimitable John Kreuttner here, which is all to the good, Kreuttner having now retired.) . . . On the other hand, considering the Squeaky Frommes of this world, perhaps we shouldn't have mused, "■ This may be looking too far ahead, but there now seems a possibility of President Ford being shot at the Lincoln Center."

★ And still more staff changes: Alan Reynolds joins *NR* early in 1972 and carves out for himself a niche as House Economist. *Entre nous chats* there's very little resistance to having Alan write the economic editorials. It's just that with Alan all editorials—be it a discussion of bird life in Pago Pago or a flight to the moon—are milked for their monetarist implications. (Jim Burnham is heard to comment bemusedly that any assignment he hands Alan comes back "full of percentages.") But *NR* profits from the infusion. Carol Buckley Learsy finds herself in charge of the biweekly "Chilean Notes" that will appear in every editorial section during the Allende years—*NR*'s own Allende Watch. Carol gets to know more about Chile than she originally cared to, and ends up caring almost as much about Chile as she does about our Chilean correspondent, the entrancing Nena Ossa. Joe Sobran arrives late in 1972 and is only too happy to refresh our memories about everything Dr. Johnson ever said or did. As nightingales sing so does Joe write, emerging from that mare's nest of an office day after day with a big, slow smile and copy that enchants. Joe will take over the Arts & Manners section from Chris Simonds, a task made slightly easier by two of A&M's regular features: Nika Hazelton's refreshing "Delectations" and D. Keith Mano's electric "The Gimlet Eye." (Remember Mano's piece on Norman Mailer's fiftieth birthday? Mailer does.) Linda is promoted to Assistant Managing Editor. Elsie Meyer, widowed and lonely in her house of memories in Woodstock, applies for Pat Simonds' job—she wants a job that will bring her into the *NR* office, out of the woods and into the city—and for two years the office is enlivened by her intelligence, brightened by her presence. Daniel Oliver comes in to be Executive Editor and, though he doesn't know it, instant columnist. Jim Buckley has found his schedule too tight to continue his "Washington" column in the *Bulletin*; Dan takes it over under the title "At Home."

★ There was a day when *NR*'s poet laureate Bill von Dreele would pay his compliments to Fun City in these terms:

Bolt the door and shoot the lock;
Someone's screaming down the block.
Dress discreetly; walk in pairs.
Stay away from public squares.

Take a taxi to your date:
Subways, never, after eight.
(Once, a gal of 53
Lost it on the BMT.)
Pack a whistle; pack a gun.
If you're undecided: run.
Do not pause to dance or dine—
Run right past that city line!
And, hereafter, lady, shun
Big Town for your summer fun.

But that was before IBM, for which von Dreele also works, set up its new headquarters "right past that city line" in Westchester County, and Mr. von Dreele, whose presence was not unknown at fashionable East Side eateries during the noon hour, found himself noon hour after noon hour munching away at a sandwich, gazing dyspeptically through mammoth plate glass windows at the "goddam swans" in a nearby pond. But craftsman that he is, trouper that he is, Bill's topical verse for *NR* in the spring and summer of 1975 never reflected that dark night of the soul. It continued to sparkle. (Bill just phoned to report that he has been paroled for six months from Westchester County to work on a city-side project.) Other poets sending in their works introduce themselves, belligerently, as "far better than von Dreele," or, more humbly, with "My friends tell me I'm as good as von Dreele." They never are. Bill, incidentally, collaborated with Mary Gauerke in 1971 on a second book of verse cum cartoons, *There's Something about a Liberal* (Arlington House).

★ Beefing up the book: George F. Will provides *NR* with its first analytical Washington column since the days of Brent Bozell. Will starts work for *NR* at about the time the Plumbers engaged in hanky-panky in Larry O'Brien's office, and he is—prematurely, to the thinking of most of our readers—anti-Agnew and anti-Nixon. And while events will bear out his toughminded analysis, many readers continue to suspect, and to let us know that they suspect, that George is one of "them." All by his little self George manages for a while to double the work load of Jane Smith and Linda Bridges, who answer the bulk of the incoming editorial mail. Will doubles as *NR*'s Book Editor and, in his spare time, writes a thrice-weekly syndicated column—one of the fastest growing in the country—and takes on a host of television assignments. We also add to the book four columns: Gerhart Niemeyer's "Days and Works," to replace Frank Meyer's "Principles and Heresies"; Malachi Martin's "Out of this World," to replace the religion column initiated by Will Herberg, who has been forced by illness to cut down; Joe Sobran's critique of periodicals, which runs under Willmoore Kendall's old logo, "The Printed Word"; and something brand new, "Land of the Free," wherein William Rickenbacker comments regularly on matters of this world from a lofty libertarian aerie.

★ Incidentally, the only column to appear in Vol. XXVII, No. 47 (this issue) that appeared under the same logo in Vol. I, No. 1 is Russell Kirk's "From the Academy," in which he continues to smite the ungodly of academe hip and thigh, though veteran Kirkians have noted the slightest diminution in his zest since Dr. John Hannah, noted "chickenologist," departed from Behemoth U. (Michigan State University) for other parts; in his dissertations on the academy Kirk is supreme, on Hannah he reached the sublime. James Burnham's "The Protracted Conflict" (né "The Third World War") continues to inform *NR* readers about, for instance, what will happen in Portugal ten months hence, hence being about the time the rest of the world press starts reporting the story. Burnham makes those careful distinctions (as, in his columns in the fall of 1974, between authoritarian and "totalist" dictatorships) that throw new light on musty perceptions, and he is a master at putting current political crises into the proper historical framework. Take, for instance, his remarks on the Arabs:

> . . . the banners of Islam advanced again into Europe, this time from the south and east, to be halted at the gates of Vienna. Again in the slow pace of centuries, the wave receded from the shores of Europe, and in this cycle Islam seemed to sink into the will-less lethargy that ends in the historical death of a civilization. The captains and adventurers and entrepreneurs of the West pitched their own tents where they chose on the Mideastern sands.

It is the kind of thing that makes it hard for the young fry in the office to develop arrogance.

★ The conservative movement and NATIONAL REVIEW will suffer some crippling losses. Ludwig von Mises and Leo Strauss die within a fortnight of each other in the fall of 1973. Closer to home, *NR* will mourn The Bookmailer, Lyle Munson, who initiated the "For the Record" column many years ago; Christopher Emmet, of American Friends of the Captive Nations; Admiral Lewis Strauss, host of *NR*'s Fifth Anniversary Dinner, a good and warm friend of the magazine; Tibor Szamuely, the Hungarian anti-Communist intellectual; Benjamin Mandel, of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; Charles Benson (of the Libyan article), shot dead outside his Hollywood rooming house in the early morning hours of Christmas Eve, 1971, assailant and motive unknown; and the seemingly indestructible Sir Arnold Lunn, still writing for *NR* in his eighties. But nothing so devastates everyone at *NR* as the deaths of their friends and colleagues, Frank Meyer in the spring of 1972 and, in the spring of 1975, his widow, Elsie.

★ Helen Puwalski at the switchboard is shook up. Artie Smith in the mail room is shook up. Frances Bronson in the editor's office is shook up. The first page of the letter starts routinely enough, "To the fascist pigs at NATIONAL REVIEW (over)"—it's that (over) that has them shook up. The second page states simply, in clear but childish handwriting: "We will bomb your offices on Cinque's birthday. (Signed) Symbionese Liberation Army." Not to worry, says Robin Wu, the research director, hurrying in from his office with library staffers Henry Fasciani and Bill Hart. The library, by means known only to the library, has already discovered that Donald DeFreeze's birthday isn't until November 15. This is early March. *NR* will make it to its birthday, Cinque will not make it to his. . . . Priscilla Buckley is decidedly shook up. It's this, let us call her, Miss Valpolicella, a stranger, unannounced, sitting across the office looking to the last black-shrouded particular like the mother in the (Chas.) Addams family. "You have noticed that your brother has been acting oddly since his return from China," says Miss Valpolicella. Miss Valpolicella doesn't ask questions; she declares. "No," says Priscilla, "at least not more oddly than usual," realizing that this is not the way to handle Miss V. "You are familiar with cellology, *of course*." "Well," nervous smile, "actually I'm not." "You don't know about cellology." Total disbelief on Miss V.'s part. She explains. Cellology is the science of human cells. Fair enough. But the problem—and believe us, it is a big one—is that Miss Valpolicella and Bill Buckley were once in the same room in China, during which time numbers of WFB's cells toddled over to Miss V., waterbucket fashion, and installed themselves in her body while numbers of hers transferred to his. I mean, they are all mixed up, interconnected. Miss Valpolicella seeks to illustrate. If, at this very moment, she says, your brother is choking, then I too will ch . . . (she rises from her chair, grasps her throat, gags). PLB is convinced—convinced she had better get Miss Valpolicella out before Bill ambles in. What to do? The solution is very simple, says Miss Valpolicella. She and Bill Buckley must sit in the same room for a very long time, time enough to permit their cells to unscramble themselves. Priscilla has a wild mental image of the scene and presses the "kook" button, an electronic device that usually resides in Kevin's office—Kevin is Kook King of *NR*—which sets off a buzzer in Evelyne and Mike's office and signals that someone needs help. Vicki Marani pokes her head into Priscilla's office. "Sorry to interrupt," she says, "but you're needed for a cover conference." PLB flees. . . . Barbara Devlin is shook up. Barbara is the production editor. She admits that the trauma of putting out the 84-page Fifteenth Anniversary issue was such that it has been wiped clean from her mind. Barbara has been working since early September on the accordion Twentieth Anniversary issue, last heard of as steady and holding at 172 pages. But that irresponsible Rob Sennott in advertising keeps bringing in new accounts. Barbara can barely be seen these days—she's in fighting trim, down twenty pounds from mid-summer—but her presence at this particular moment in time is making itself felt, very much felt. She is informing the managing editor that Michael Oakeshott, noted British philosopher, sent in his piece two weeks ago, as promised. Keith Mano's parody section has been in page for ten days. Bill Buckley(!) has produced his Notes & Asides. Joe Sobran(!!) turned in his 40,000-word excerpt of George Nash's big book only two weeks after his deadline, one week short of red alert. Where, Miss Devlin wants to know, is the managing editor's inhouse history . . . ? ☐

Perishable Interviews: The Battle of Rambling Gulp

"In my opinion, the preoration of lewdicrous, prudential, and obsequious material in books and plays is a figleaf of the imagination. Opening a Panderer's box merely streetwalks prosecutes. Spreading Haight-Ashbury doesn't help either. For example, a diploma millstone isn't necessarily an albacross. Are you as exturpulated as I am about the Nix Newson and the exonerating obsolescence being sprayed by his new adhesives?"

Where Are They Now?

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

THEY'VE COME AND GONE in the last twenty years, dozens of them, some for a summer, some for a year or two, *NR*'s editorial assistants. They open the editorial mail, and answer much of it. They give incoming manuscripts a first reading, sort them out, and send them on their way, either back to the author or up the editorial chain of command. (One article, with the contemptuous comment "utaly rediculas"—a hilarious piece on "Rioting as an Olympic Sport"—we published.) They field the phone, answer requests, deal with the cranks. (The gentleman known as "The Whisperer"—he whispers because men from outer space are monitoring his conversations—was solemnly instructed by a desperate young assistant after the 22nd call to carry aluminum foil at all times in order to jam up the Martian listening devices. We never heard from The Whisperer again.) They console aspiring young writers whose work has been rejected, tell Mrs. Cadwallader firmly—the Mrs. Cadwalladers take firm handling—that much as they'd like to oblige, they are not empowered to produce Bill Buckley for Jennifer's junior high school graduation picnic, June 2 next. They learn—in very short order—how to deal with CCs (constant correspondents) and CMSs (cancel my subscriptions). They mark up copy for the printers (heads, type face, size of type, width of column), learn the rudiments of proofreading and copy editing, enlist enthusiastically under the banner of the pro-hyphen and anti-hyphen factions among the editors, familiarize themselves with the basics of editorial production and paste-up. They take turns going to the printing plant—City National East in Connecticut—on closing day to handle the last-minute production and editorial chores. They do their share of the writing for the *Bulletin* and "The Week" section of the magazine. They brighten the lives of the senior staff, inform the editor-in-chief—"Peerless Leader," as he is irreverently called—why everyone is talking about Hank Aaron this season, and what The Who are. They are a delight and, occasionally, a despair. Some have spun out of our orbit (Shermayne Billingsley, Nadine Klein, Craig Chawkins—that mad impresario of the "letters to the editor" report); some have remained in touch over the years (Kim and Nancy Milliken, Linda Lewis, Phil Ardery) but have gone on to other fields of endeavor; many have done very well indeed in journalism and related careers.

MAUREEN BUCKLEY was the first, handling all these tasks and any others that came her way in those first couple of disorganized years, working out of a grubby, overcrowded, bullpen office on East (very east) 37th Street in New York. Marriage and two children later—satisfied that the senior staff had been whipped into shape and was *almost* tolerable—Maureen passed the torch to John Leonard, 19 years old, an engaging Harvard drop-out. John stayed over a year, then went on to finish college, write his novels (*The Naked Martini*, *Wyke Regis*, *Black Conceit*). He became a daily book reviewer for the *New York Times*, then editor of the Sunday *Book Review*. He was recently named Culture Editor of the *Times*, and though we are ideologically incompatible, he remains our very good friend. (It has been years since John has written about "the murky metaphysics of liberalism," a phrase he turned out just two weeks after his entry into the heady atmosphere of *NR*, way back in the late Fifties.)

David Franke, who followed John, was (with Douglas Caddy) co-founder of YAF (YAF turned 15 this year) while on our staff. He wrote the "Cato" column while editor of the *New Guard* in Washington, was for a number of years a senior editor at Arlington House (along with Tim Wheeler, another for-

(Continues on page 1429)

PLB is the chief factotum of what Frank S. Meyer once described as "Miss Buckley's Finishing School for Young Ladies and Gentlemen of Conservative Persuasion."

Notes & Asides

Five Years' Notes & Asides, selected for the Twentieth Anniversary Issue by Daniel Oliver

■ Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Esq.

January 15, 1970

Dear Arthur:

I hope that Mr. Steibel [the producer of *Firing Line*] inaccurately reported a conversation with you concerning a proposed appearance on *Firing Line*. He told me that you declined to appear on the program because you do not want to "help" my program, and you do not want to increase my influence, although to be sure you "hope" that the program "survives." It seems to me that the latter desire is by definition vitiated by the initial commitment. If all the liberals who have appeared on *Firing Line* reasoned similarly, it would necessarily follow that the program would cease to exist—or is it your position that other liberals *should* appear on the program, but that *you* should not? And I should have thought it would follow from your general convictions that a public exchange with me would diminish, rather than increase, my influence. And anyway, the general public aside, shouldn't you search out opportunities to expose yourself to my rhetoric and wit? How else will you fulfill your lifelong dream of emulating them?

Yours cordially,
Bill

March 2, 1970

Dear Bill:

I do not see the *National Enquirer* or NATIONAL REVIEW or whatever it is called; but I understand that you ran your silly letter of January 15 to me in your issue of February 10. I gather also that in neither this nor the succeeding issue did you run my reply of January 30, though it had obviously been in your hands in plenty of time. In a better world I might have hoped that you would have the elementary fairness, or guts, to provide equal time; but, alas, wrong again.

Sincerely yours,
Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Dear Arthur:

I should have thought you would be used to being wrong. But to business. . . . Now, suppose I had begun this letter, "Dear Arthur, or Dear Barfer, or whatever you call yourself"? Would I do that? No; and not merely because it's childish, but because it isn't *funny*. The reason I did not publish your reply to my original letter is that I thought it embarrassingly feeble and it did not come to me with your permission to publish it. But, of course, now that you have relieved me of responsibility, I shall proceed to release it [see below].

One night, two or three years ago, you leaned over to me during a television broadcast when Lyndon Johnson was speaking about conservation, and whispered, "Better redwoods than deadwoods." I granted you, on the strength of that, a plenary indulgence. But the crack must have worked hell on your batteries, and it is obviously going to take a few years before they are capable of another successful discharge. Meanwhile I beg you, visit not your wit on me. Manifestly, it hurts you more than it hurts me.

Yours faithfully,
Bill

Mr. Schlesinger's reply to WFB's January 15 letter:

Dear Bill:

Can it be that you are getting a little tetchy in your declining years? Nothing would give me greater pleasure than debating you on neutral ground; you are quite right in detecting my feeling that such public exchanges would diminish rather than increase your influence. But is it really *lèse-majesté* to suggest that I am under no obligation to promote your program? As for others, let them make their own decision. Don't tell me that you have stopped believing in freedom of individual choice!

You remind me of my other favorite correspondent, Noam Chomsky.

Best regards,
Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Dear Bill:

It should have been obvious even to you, I would have thought, that the reason one confuses the *National Enquirer* and the NATIONAL REVIEW is because they have comparable standards of wit, taste, intelligence, and reliability. I am interested to see you so sensitive on this point.

As for your decision to excommunicate me (again), I fear that this is a weightier matter from your viewpoint than from mine. The notion that the withdrawal of your approval must, of course, bring your adversaries immediately to their knees could commend itself only to an egomaniac. And, lest you are in doubt, you have my permission to publish this letter too.

Sincerely yours,
Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Dear Arthur:

It is obvious to me that only someone who had difficulty in distinguishing between the *National Enquirer* and NATIONAL REVIEW could have written such works of history as you have written. Nor have I intended to suggest that I have driven you to your knees, merely that you should spend more time on them before presuming to challenge

Your patient nemesis,
Wm. F. (Envy His Rhetoric) Buckley Jr.

◆

■ Dear Bill:

Three cheers to Dr. Ross Terrill. He slashed you to bits as you have been doing to yourself for the past year. Cancel my subscription.

Wm. W. Morris
Green Valley, Arizona

Dear Mr. Morris:

Cancel your own goddam subscription.

Cordially,
WFB

◆

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am a 16-year-old high school junior who is going, slowly but inexorably, out of his mind. I have come to the conclusion that you are the only person on the face of the earth who can save my sanity.

My problem, briefly, is this: for the past year I have been trying, without avail, to discover just what, in God's name, the phrase "to immanentize the eschaton" means.

I heard you speak the phrase once on *Firing Line* and immediately made a valiant attempt to look it up. Upon discovering that my dictionary did not list the words I instantly resolved to ask one of my teachers in the morning.

When I tried this course I drew another blank. I would ask a teacher the question, whereupon he would have me repeat it a dozen or so times and then plead ignorance. I would then be asked: "Where'd you hear it?" When I informed him that you had used it the night before he would generally give me a forlorn look, mumble something like, "Oh *him* eh?," and express his innermost conviction, i.e., that you had probably invented the words. I'm sure you'll be thrilled to know, Mr. Buckley, that I had faith in you. I *knew* you hadn't invented those words. And, sure enough, when I was reading your book *The Unmaking of a Mayor* I came across a passage which revealed a Mr. Eric Voegelin as the author of the phrase. Jubilant, I raced to our school library and asked the librarian for everything written by Mr. Voegelin. "Never heard of him," the woman answered. As I left, ruminating upon the intrinsic failings of the public schools, I encountered the teacher to whom I had put the original question. When I explained the matter to him he expressed the conviction that, not only did you make up the phrase, but that you also contrived Mr. Voegelin!

Now, Mr. Buckley, more than anything else in the world I would like to know what that phrase means. I really think you should tell me because: 1) I have watched every one of your TV shows and have read all of your newspaper columns ever since I first heard of you. And 2) I've read all of your books (save only the last one, *The Jeweler's Eye*, which, curse my parsimonious soul, costs a small fortune. I'll wait 'til it comes out in paperback). Also 3) I subscribe to the NATIONAL REVIEW and even *read* all of those silly renewal notices I keep getting.

Thanking you for your time in reading this I remain

Sincerely yours,
Edward H. Vazquez
Old Bridge, New Jersey

Dear Edward:

Eschaton means, roughly, the final things in the order of time; immanentize means, roughly, to cause to inhere in time. So that to immanentize the eschaton is to cause to inhere in the worldly experience and subject to human dominion that which is beyond time and therefore extraworldly. To attempt such a thing is to deny transcendence: to deny God; to assume that utopia is for this world. All of these things Professor Voegelin draws out of the gnostic heresy of yesteryear. His phrase, far from being a contrivance of mine, is so famous that buttons actually exist, one of which I am sending you pinned into a copy of *The Jeweler's Eye*, that bear the legend, "Don't let THEM immanentize the eschaton!" Tell your teachers they have a great deal to learn, not least the impeccable use of the English which you are manifestly equipped to teach them.

Yours,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

◆

■ To the Editor
The *Washington Post*

In re your man Ungar (Sanford J., *Washington Post* July 21, 1970).

1) It is obvious that he did not trouble to read *Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?*; which is just as well, inasmuch as it is by no means clear that he'd have understood it if he had. One thing. He mentions three of the (two dozen) contributors to the book, only one of whom he pauses to characterize. He refers to "the old reliable Whittaker Chambers." I do not know what he means by "reliable," although it is obvious that he doesn't use the word in the sense, say, in which you and I would use it about the Coast Guard. If he means that Chambers was reliably an evangelist for this or that position in the sense that, say, Billy Graham or Robert Ingersoll was, then he knows nothing at all about Chambers' intellectual peregrinations, which is too bad. If he meant to use the word professionally, then I think I must record that Chambers was the most "unreliable" writer in modern journalism—forever missing deadlines. I do not see exactly how one can call "the old reliable" someone who over a period of 13 years (1948-1961)

wrote one book, and maybe ten articles. It is rather like referring to "the old reliable Katherine Anne Porter."

2) Mr. Ungar complains (?) that my book *The Governor Listeth* contains my "minor speeches." Pray, where does he think I publish my major speeches?

3) Mr. Ungar says of me, "he wants very much to be a public figure." That is like saying, "The *Washington Post* wants very much to be a newspaper." I think he meant to say that I want to be admired as what I am, even as, presumably, the *Post* does.

4) He says that I had "some encounters with black militants which he will apparently never stop talking about." I wrote about the incident when it happened, and never again alluded to it. What *is* it with Ungar?

And, finally, 5) "His philosophies are dubiously [as opposed to unequivocally?] two-faced. Civil disobedience, for example, is always bad, except when it occurs behind the Iron Curtain, on the other side of which resides all that is evil in the world, including, of all things, Polish ham." I have never championed civil obedience in any totalitarian country. As for the Polish ham bit (I eat them regularly, and with pleasure), I am reminded by Mr. Ungar of a line from Guy Davenport: "Sometimes, on reading Goethe, I have a paralyzing suspicion that he is trying to be funny."

Yours faithfully,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

◆

■ To the Editor
The Editorial Page
The *New York Times*

Dear Sir:

You write (May 27, 1974): "There is something repugnant in the enthusiastic publicity-seeking of Senator James L. Buckley of New York in participating in a whaling expedition by the hunters of an Alaskan village."

Now I have seen everything. So my brother is visiting, once again, the Arctic circle. It is his fourth trip, not even counting his trip to the Antarctic. He has a thing about Arctic circles. He first went to the Arctic circle way before he went to the Senate, and he will go to the Arctic circle after he is out of the Senate, assuming the inconceivable, that he and the voters should tire of one another before death do them part. On this particular trip a *New York Times* reporter *asked* to go with him. Jim said okay, but only if the Eskimos say okay. Those who know my brother know that the prospect of a reporter traveling to the Arctic with him for the purpose of recording the Senator's movements, far from overjoying him, was a tribulation he bore gracefully only because he will bear the pains of Purgatory gracefully. A *New York Times* editor then decides to put the *New York Times* reporter's story on the visit on the front page, whereupon a *New York Times* editorial writer gives my brother hell for publicity-seeking! Your reference to his "gleeful pursuit" of a whale is both gratuitous and ignorant, inasmuch as my brother, a naturalist, has himself always declined to shoot or hunt down any living creature. What was he supposed to do while his hosts were shooting the whale? Cock his eyes heavenward and recite the *De Profundis*? I do not doubt the integrity of his concern for endangered species, though I confess that my own is qualified as I meditate a world without the species that writes *New York Times* editorials.

Yours faithfully,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

◆

■ Lawrence K. Miller, Editor
The *Berkshire Eagle*
Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Miller:

I should have thought that you put a high enough value on your readers to protect them against columns written by a "notorious antisemite." In the event that that isn't the case, you are less fastidious than I am. Because I would not want to be associated with any newspaper disposed to tolerate among its regular writers a notorious antisemite. Under the circumstances, a) you should fire me because you believe the characterization of me by [the columnist] George Connelly (your issue of October 6, 1969) to be true; or b) you will disavow the charge and apologize for having printed the libel, and perhaps take the opportunity to say what is your policy toward columnists who pass their libels through your pages; or c) I shall—just to begin with—instruct my syndicate to withdraw my column effective immediately.

Yours faithfully,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Thank you for your letter of October 13 addressed to Lawrence K. Miller. In response thereto, the marked item enclosed was appended to the October 20 column of Professor George G. Connelly.

Yours obediently,
Robert B. Kimball
Assistant to the Editor

Enclosure: "Apology. Prof. Connelly, in a column of Oct. 6 based in part on an article by Gore Vidal in the September issue of *Esquire*, imputed antisemitism to William F. Buckley Jr. Upon examination of all available evidence . . . an apology is tendered Mr. Buckley on behalf of our columnist and this newspaper. —Ed."

Lawrence K. Miller, Editor
The *Berkshire Eagle*

Dear Mr. Miller:

I note that not only are you too busy to prevent your columnists from submitting libels, you are also too busy to take the time personally to apologize to the victim for publishing them. I note also that the normally verbose

Mr. Connelly is suddenly struck dumb, leaving it to others to apologize to me on his behalf.

I am not disposed to have dealings with such people: not even professional dealings. On the other hand I do not wish to satisfy myself at the expense of such of your readers as desire to read my column. Under the circumstances, I shall continue to send you my column on the regular basis, on the understanding that you will not henceforward pay any money for it. I shall myself absorb the cost of mailing. Perhaps you and Mr. Connelly can meet and giggle together at this demonstration that crime can, after all, pay. Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

◆

■ Dear Bill:

The enclosed is for your attention.

—JKG

John Kenneth Galbraith
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Mr. Galbraith:

I have been a fan of yours for quite some time and I agree almost 100 per cent with your liberal views. I particularly enjoy watching you chew up William F. Buckley during debates.

I would like to ask a favor of you. I possess a hobby and that is I collect autographs of people I admire. I would appreciate it very much if you would send me your autograph and I will be very grateful. Thank you and best of luck to you in the future. Sincerely,

Mark Sheeran (Age 14)
New York

Dear Mark:

You are at the perfect age to be a fan of Professor Galbraith. He has a new book coming out, and with every copy you get two popsicles. Watch for it.

Forgivingly,
WFB

◆

■ Dear Bill:

Here's an amusing letter I thought you might like to answer personally.

I didn't realize Nixon had kept those leftover JFK and LBJ fructs in the White House, but what can you expect from a guy who looks like a usucar salesman?

Yours,
William Attwood
Publisher, *Newsday*

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Now really what the hell kind of word is this to use in a column directed to the average person with the average vocabulary. ["He likes being President. He likes the power, the usufructs of the Presidency . . ." *NR*, March 1.] It annoys me to run across any such ludicrous words that I'm supposed to leave my easy chair and dig out the old Funk—to find out what you are about. I realize you know what it means and probably a couple of other people on this planet like the professors of English at Oxford and a fop like Truman Capote. But I'll tell you this, to the average American "usufructs" sounds like some Italian guy telling another guy what kind of loving he enjoys. Really what a stupid word usage—sometimes you are just too much.

Regards anyway,
Robert Moran
Wantagh, New York

Dear Mr. Moran:

What then would you do to the nursery rhyme,

Could eternal life afford
That tyranny should thus deduct
From this fair land
. . . A year of the sweet usufruct?

—WFB

◆

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am stranded here without my reference library for a couple of weeks, and have come across a sentence from Terence used as an epigraph of sorts, which I am unable to translate. Would you be so kind as to do so, and let me have it in the enclosed envelope? It is: "*Bono animo es: tu cum illa te intus oblecta interim et lectulos iube sterni nobis et parari cetera.*" Many thanks.

M. Patrick Glenville
Sun Valley, Idaho

Dear Mr. Glenville:

It defeats me, sorry, and also one or two of my colleagues. Normally, I would write to Garry Wills and ask him to translate it for me. However, I am so outraged by his recent stupid, preposterous column on the Shockley debate at Yale, I declared a ninety-day moratorium on any correspondence with him. There are still 32 days left. If you can hold out, I'll ask him then, and ship you out the translations to Sun Valley.

Yours cordially,
WFB

◆

■ Dear Bill:

I completely forget if I have told you about the Jane Chord. It is a critical dowsing-rod invented by Jane Brakhage, wife to the poetic filmmaker Stan Brakhage, and it can be applied with profit to any book by any mortal. To obtain the Jane Chord you combine the first and last words of the book—inflected languages, where words are riveted together, occasionally require that you permit some article or preposition to tag along—and if it is a book worthy of human veneration these words combined will state the book's quality in a phrase. Thus the *Aeneid* catches the Virgilian chiaroscuro with "Arma/

sub umbras"; thus *Ulysses* yields "Stately/yes"; thus in *The Pound Era*, to group small things with great, we perceive "Toward/labyrinth." I am told that it works also with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but while I can remember the first words of these I cannot recall the last and have no texts here (remember that we cannot expect much of translators). I was once describing this precious principle to the novelist Edward Loomis, and his book *Heroic Love* being handy we inspected it and obtained "In/her." And the *Divine Comedy* yields "Nel/stelle," in the stars. Later I discovered that Mallarmé seems to have arrived at this principle for himself and used it consciously to structure poems, leading them from an opening to a closing word in such wise as to expand and adorn that bracketing phrase. His most famous sonnet gives "Le vierge/cygne," and his Poe-poem, "Tel/futur."

At any rate, *Inveighing We Will Go* reverberates, all 160,000 words of it, between the members of surely the most resonant, most majestic, most scintillant Jane Chord of 1972, if not of—what doesn't sound too hyperbolical?—oh, say the Kissinger Epoch: "Herewith/light."

All the best,
Hugh Kenner
University of California

◆

■ British Embassy
Washington, D.C.
7 July 1970

Dear Mr. Buckley,

I have been asked to thank you for the telegram of congratulation which you sent to The Right Honourable Edward Heath after the General Election.

Your kind thought was much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
John Freeman

Dear Mr. Freeman:

a) I did not send a telegram of congratulation to The Right Honourable Edward Heath, but b) your letter thanking me for doing so reminds me how ill-mannered I was not to have done so, and c) emphasizes a wonderful piquancy, that the former editor of the *New Statesman* should be thanking the editor of the NATIONAL REVIEW for congratulating the people of Great Britain for emancipating themselves from the influence of the *New Statesman.*

Life *can* be worth living!

My most cordial regards,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

◆

■ To the Editor
Newsday

I have just seen the letter you published by Mr. Louis Eackloff (April 23), wherein he found it "unbelievable that *Newsday* continues to carry the Buckley column. It persists in being full of fabrications, deceit, and intentional distortions. His article on Chile is a complete distortion. . . . He completely forgets to mention his family's oil and mining interests in Chile." Not only did I forget to mention my family's oil and mining interests in Chile, my father forgot to tell us he had oil and mining interests in Chile. But since we forgot we had them, it hurts us less that they should now be taken from us without compensation. I wonder, by the way, why Mr. Eackloff forgot to mention that Allende is his father-in-law?

Yours cordially,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

◆

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Many years ago, I remember hearing of an organization called the Invisible Hand Society. Does such an organization really exist? If so, what does its emblem look like? And is it the sort of organization a thinking man like myself would want to have anything to do with? Is it affiliated with the Committee to Horsewhip Jack Anderson?

Sincerely,
Felix Tilley
Van Nuys, California

Dear Mr. Tilley:

The Invisible Hand Society most definitely does exist, but access to it is difficult, and possible only through: Commodore Donald Lipsett, Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Michigan. It is one of the virtues of the Invisible Hand Society that it teaches you that, really, you don't *have* to think. . . . No, it was not affiliated with the other committee you have in mind. But get that one straight: it was: The Committee to Horsewhip *Drew Pearson.* Since the sins of the father should not be visited on the son, the committee disbanded when Jack Anderson took over. The old board convened when Jack Anderson published the National Security minutes during the Bangladesh war, but decided to give him a second chance.

—WFB

◆

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I read somewhere that you don't send out Christmas cards. Okay—and you can whistle before I send you a Christmas card. *Lex talionis*, as you would say.

Regards,
Ella F. Winter
Chicago, Illinois

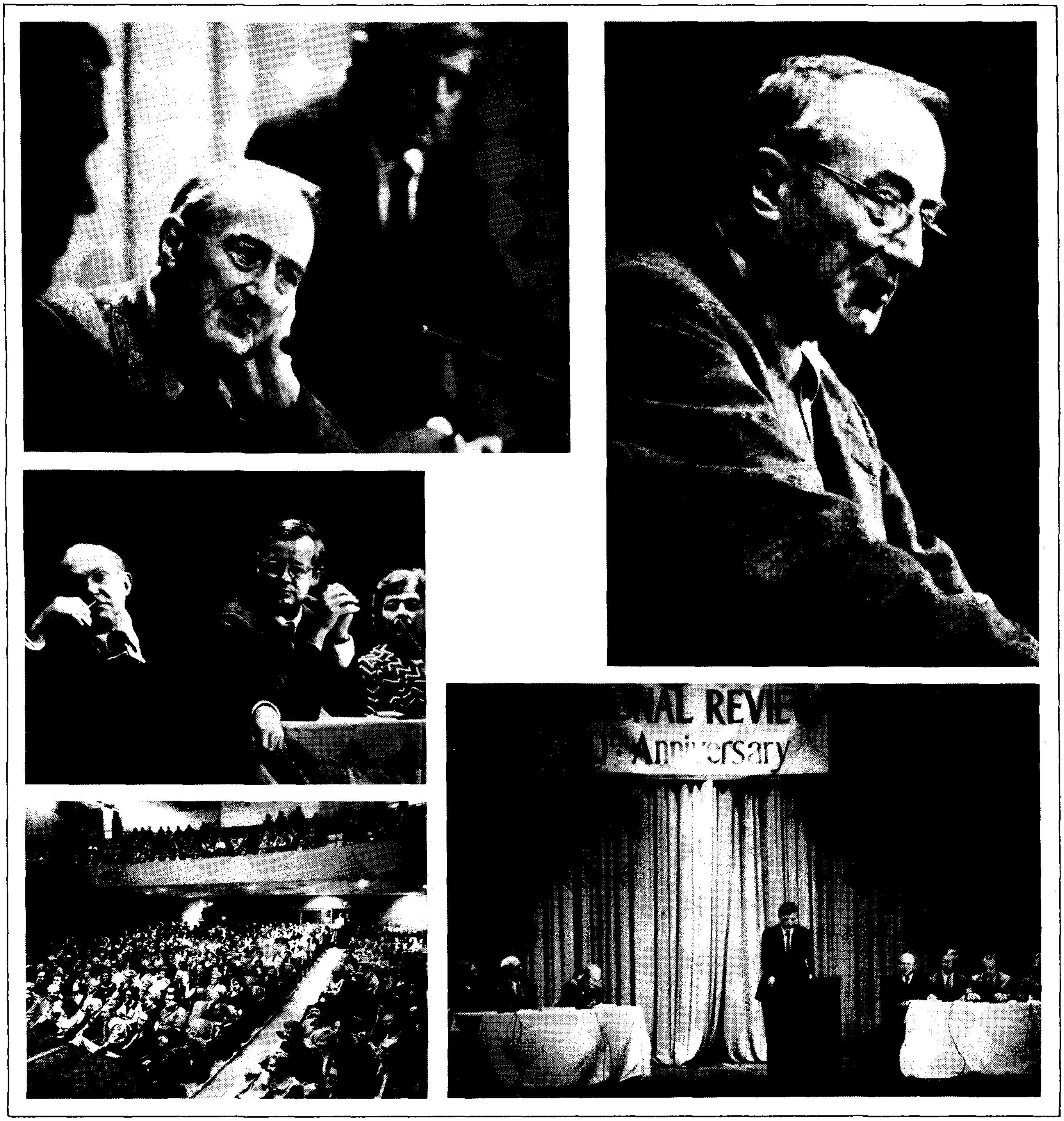
Dear Miss Winter:

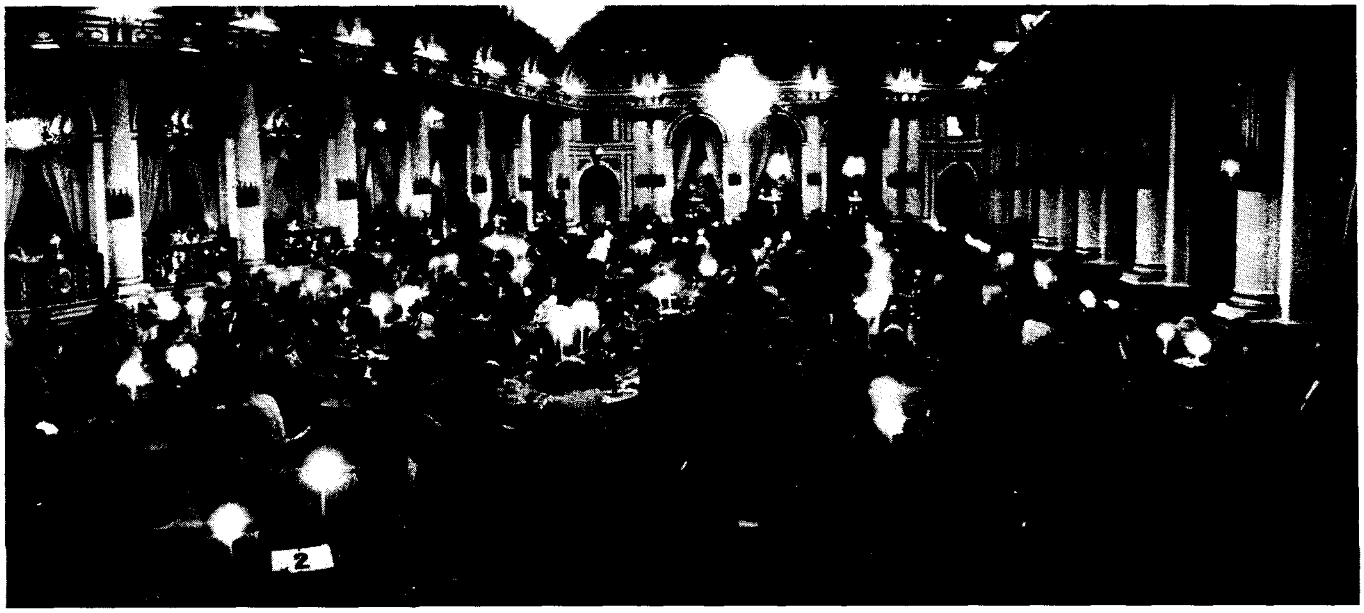
I am sorry; but I recognize the merit of your point. Merry Christmas. By the way, the law you cite was repealed by the Gentleman whose birth your Christmas cards celebrate.

Cordially,
—WFB

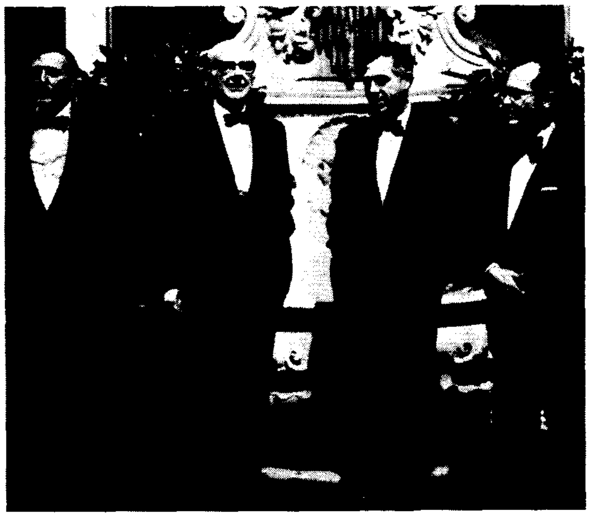
At Hunter College, November 17

Michael Oakeshott delivering his paper "Talking Politics" at Hunter College on November 17. Center row: Oakeshott is told by James Jackson Kilpatrick that, confusion of terms or no confusion of terms, *he* knows what "liberal" and "conservative" mean. Kilpo, Dan Oliver, and Priscilla Buckley await Mr. Oakeshott's reply. Center, right: Bill Buckley presides at the lectern: behind him, l. to r., Jeffrey Hart, James Burnham, Michael Oakeshott, James Jackson Kilpatrick, Dan Oliver, Gerhart Niemeyer, Priscilla Buckley *(Bill Rusher is out of the camera's range)*. *Bottom, left: The audience listens as Mr. Oakeshott* unfolds his theory of the modern state as consisting of an office of authority, a power apparatus, and a mode of association. He explained and defended eloquently his own preference for a "civil association" as against a "purposive state." Readers of this issue of *NR* will find that Mr. Oakeshott's essay was a difficult one, yet despite the difficulty and despite imperfect acoustics the audience stayed with the argument and participated in a spirited discussion.





The famous Grand Ballroom at the Plaza Hotel could not accommodate all who wished to attend, and the sponsors had to stop the sale of tickets a week in advance



On the receiving line at the beginning of the evening: Bill Buckley, James Burnham, Jim Buckley, and Bill Rusher

Receiving line in action, complete with presidential candidate: Bill Buckley, Ronald Reagan, Jim McFadden, Bill Rusher, Dan Oliver

Keith Mano thinking about his next novel, Hugh Kenner explaining Canto XXX to an unidentified skeptic, and Priscilla Buckley enjoying David Frye's takeoffs on Ford, Nixon, Rockefeller, Bill Buckley, and Wallace

Mrs. Alfred Bloomingdale, movie director Peter Glenville, Aileen (Suzy) Mehle wonder if Ronald Reagan will declare tonight

Barry Goldwater, Ann (Mrs. Jim) Buckley, Ronald Reagan, Peggy Goldwater on their feet at Rusher's toast to Clare Boothe Luce, chairman of NR's *Tenth*

Tonight, only, Goldwater, Ann Buckley, Ronald Reagan get a visible kick out of David Frye's takeoff on Jerry Ford (a guest at NR's *Tenth)*

The New York Post *said it. David Frye on Bill Buckley is good but not as good as Bill Buckley on Bill Buckley*

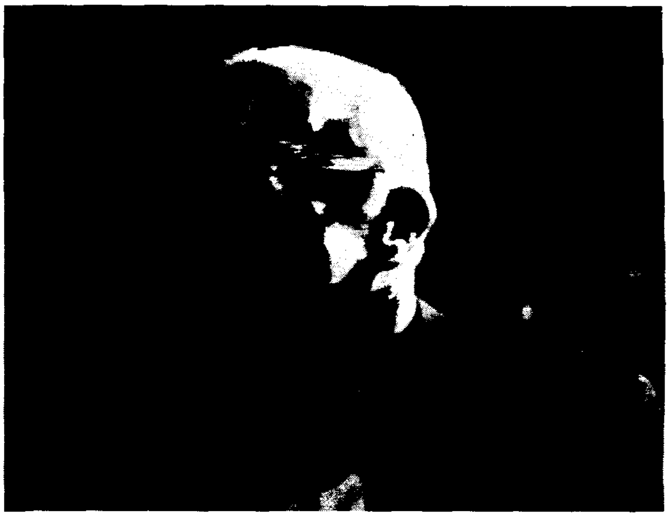
Pat Buckley finally relaxes and enjoys the fun, having attended to the buffet, the flowers, the arrangements, understudying Marvin Liebman (missing)

Frank Shakespeare, former boss of the USIA under Nixon, chats with NR *Director Lloyd Smith, and Elizabeth Smith*

The speakers' table, complete with halo: the Goldwaters, Reagan, four Buckleys, the Kilpatricks, Clare Boothe Luce

Michael Oakeshott relaxing at the party after the lecture. He professed to having enjoyed himself

Murray Kempton, Washington Star syndicate's Harry Elmlark, at table with Newsday's *Bill Attwood, the Norman Cousins,* Psychology Today's *T. George Harris, Doubleday's Sam Vaughan, the Teddy Whites*



James Burnham smiles; all is very temporarily right with the world

Clare Boothe Luce and WFB. Background: Priscilla Buckley, Nika Hazelton, Mrs. William F. Buckley Sr.

Firing Line *moguls, Producer Warren Steibe SECA Chairman Henry Cauthen, Asst. Producer Paul Sweeney*

William Rusher outlining to Ronald Reagan plans for a third political party

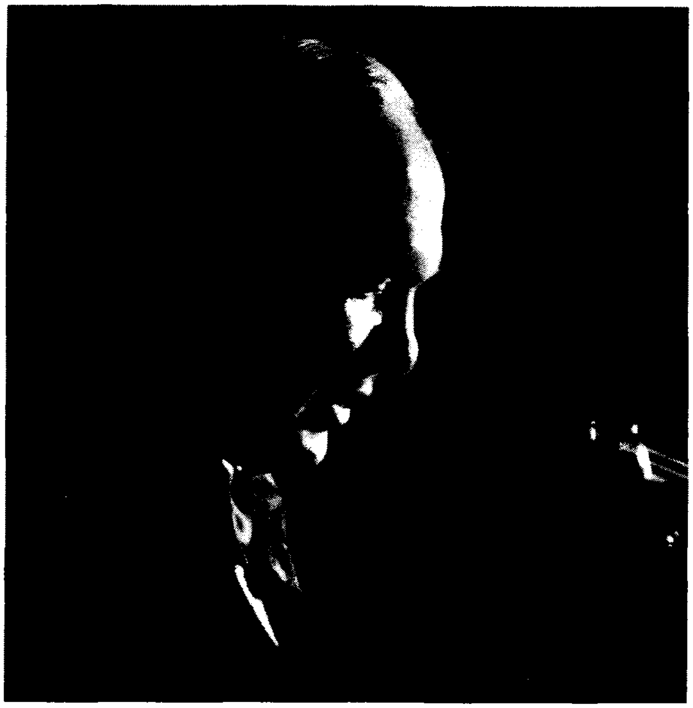
R. Emmett Tyrrell, editor of The Alternative; *Frances Bronson of* NR*; and John Coyne, recently ghostwriter to two Presidents and two Vice Presidents*

Hot Lips Garment, former counsel to the President, counsel to the U.S. mission at the UN, plays with Dick Wellstood and three survivors of Fats Waller's band

Preparing for the receiving line: Senators Goldwater, Buckley. In the background, however briefly, Ronald Reagan

NATIONAL REVIEW

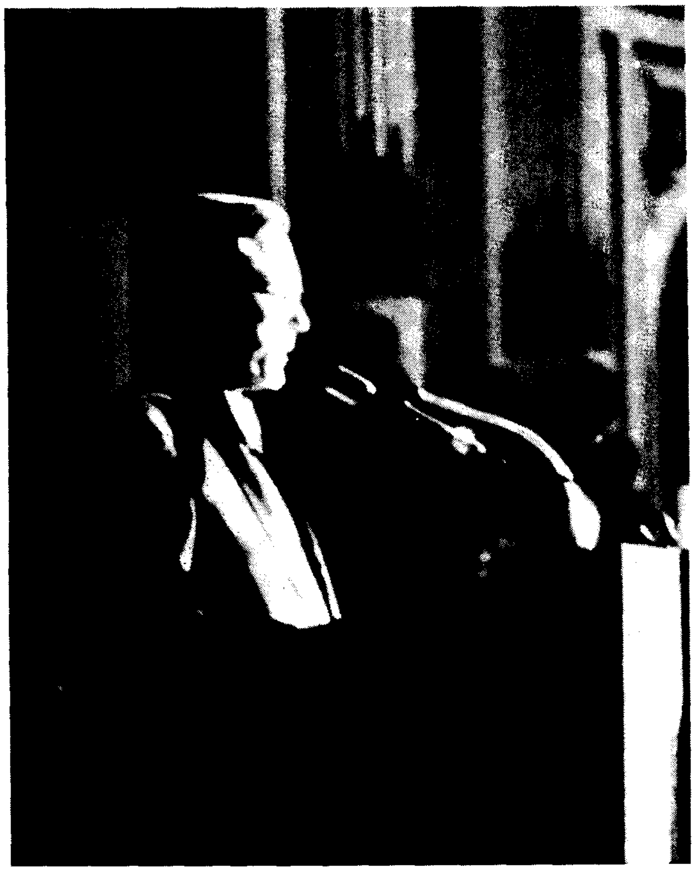
Thomas Guinzburg of Viking Press, the Dino Pionzios, Victor Frank, the Joe Donners, Carl Wohlenberg



"I was not surprised that James Jackson Kilpatrick would register his approval of me. Ambrose Bierce in his dictionary defined Admiration as 'the polite recognition of other people's similarity to oneself.' I am surprised, notwithstanding my long familiarity with it, by the depths of his generosity, and the beauty of his craft. I feel as though I had just been painted into the Sistine Chapel. But everyone will recognize that the art was Michelangelo's."

"Barry Goldwater ran for President the year after the decade of the 60s was de-stabilized. In a sense it did not matter that he lost – somebody has to lose, and the inertia of the age – what Ronald Reagan would call the Zeitgeist – generally stipulates that the loser should be the rightward candidate. It matters a great deal, however, that, in losing, he was wronged – Moynihan would understand. The evidence is clear, however, that in droves the American people have, shyly, even surreptitiously, sought expiation. That is why he is regarded, more so than any living American of either political party, with almost universal affection."

"My brother Jim is off to a splendid start. He faces difficulties, to be sure. In an age of heavily unbalanced budgets, he is a great luxury: and it is not entirely clear that New York can afford him. His resistance to cant and superstition might make him as unredeemable as a municipal bond. But let us not count on that. Every now and then New York homes in on true value. I am reminded of the busy merchant who sweatily and inconspicuously vetted the pile of profane objects of art heaped onto a pyre in the square of Florence to which Savonarola had ordered that the torch be put later in the afternoon. Adding up the figures in the nick of time, the merchant of Venice, with his jeweler's eye, made a flat offer for the whole lot; thereby reminding us that there is a free market value, even in wild times, for – true value. I would be surprised if New York dissipated one of its principal assets."



‘Ronald Reagan is about to engage in a great enterprise – indeed this occasion is at once his last, and unlikeiest, chance to back out. I have been attracted to him as a friend since we met first in 1959, and his personal modesty makes it possible for me to say without any fear of being misunderstood, that he does not fancy himself a better man than the man he seeks to replace, who sat on the dais at NATIONAL REVIEW's 10th Anniversary celebration. He sees himself rather as possessing the combination—and it is rare—of a vision into the causes of some of our disorders, and the highly communicable zeal for reform. Perhaps the young generation that has pleaded so ardently for greater rations of candor, will now understand candor even when exercised at their superficial expense. If that should prove to be the case, NATIONAL REVIEW will plan its 25th Anniversary celebration in the most exclusive hostelry in Washington, D.C."

"Bill Rusher is every bit as vital to NATIONAL REVIEW as I am. Tonight he has been trenchant, which he always is; and diplomatic, which usually he isn't. In contrast to his generous performance tonight, at NATIONAL REVIEW he exhibits no respect for me whatever; and that is very good for me, and therefore for my beloved NATIONAL REVIEW. I don't know what I would do without the disrespect regularly shown towards me. You will be reassured that there is no prospect of a national shortage."

"It is not easy, on the outside, to imagine the kind of pressure brought to bear, inside, on those who tell the truth – when the truth is damaging to self-esteem. His heavy burden is his outspoken belief in the ideals of this country. This requires him to interpret seriously the tablets of the United Nations. That is intolerable – not only there, but in any cosmopolitan surrounding. It is for me a vexing thought that, if it should happen, on account of the rumbling of the juggernaut, or because, finally, the Lord has cleared his throat, that the blight of totalitarianism should disappear from the face of the earth – I would find myself, in those woozy pastures, quarreling with him about some of his silly, pestiferous domestic programs. But until then, admiringly and gratefully, I am Daniel Patrick Moynihan's to command."

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Remarks (Excerpted) at the Anniversary Dinner

. . . . PROFESSOR JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH, giving an interview recently to a London journalist, volunteered that he was forced to admit it: that, whereas 15 years ago he and his colleagues at Harvard had been pretty well satisfied that there were no serious problems left unsolved in the field of economics, now he recognizes how much, in fact, there is left to discover.

If there is so much left for other economists to discover, *a fortiori* we can imagine how much there is left for Professor Galbraith to discover; although I cannot truthfully admit I would welcome a change in his style—it is endearing exactly in proportion as it is offensive.

Now for all that Professor Galbraith has gone this way and that on economic theory, he has not budged on one conviction, which concerns the character of the class, broadly speaking, of American capitalists. I speak here and most pointedly of those American capitalists who are not present in this room—this temple, would perhaps be more appropriate—in form or in spirit. Galbraith has chronicled not only the cupidity, but the narrow range of their interest in the marketplace. I hope to be saying something more interesting than that greed is the root of many evils—a bipartisan truism about human nature.

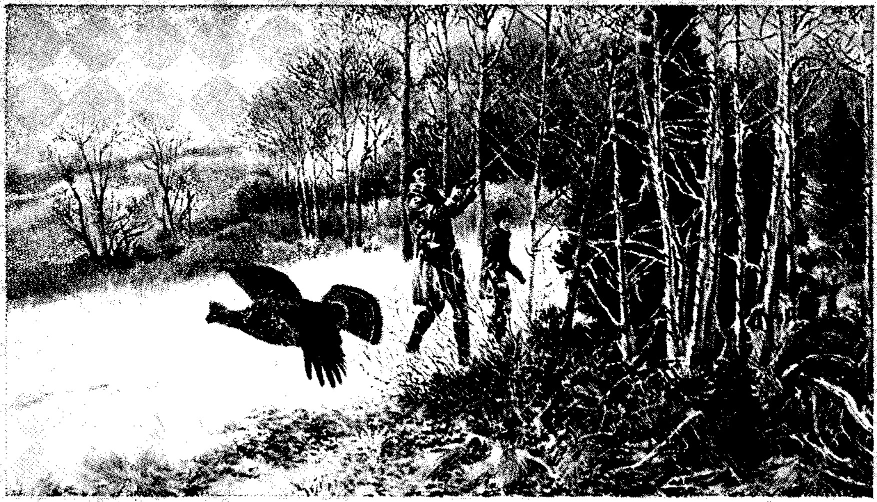
Now that greed is less, I think, a mutation of capitalism, let alone an organic attribute of it, than a culturally conditioned fear of principle; a stubborn moral nescience; a fugitive unconcern for the cultivation of values only a painstaking care for which can assure the survival of a free society. I speak of a class of self-conscious men benumbed by two generations of accumulated contempt by academicians, poets, and moralists, which reacts now by exhibiting a libertine indifference to the direction of political-economic instruction in the colleges they patronize, to which they send their sons and daughters for impacted indoctrination in the evils of the society they sustain, or are sustained by. This is the class that subsidizes, indeed causes to flourish through copious advertising, the popular journals whose editorial content combines in resolutely fixed ratio licentious assaults on venerable restraints on biological appetites—with fundamentalist condemnations of American institutions and policies. *Screw* magazine Interviewing Mrs. Allende, Paid for by General Motors. The American capitalist whose image crystallizes in the mind of the young is not even the muscular, smug, canny, willful, creative powerbroker of Upton Sinclair. He is the inarticulate, self-conscious, bumbling mechanic of the private sector, struck dumb by the least cliché of socialism, fleeing into the protective arms of government at the least hint of commercial difficulty; delighting secretly in the convenient power of the labor union to negotiate for an entire industry; uniformly successful only in his escapist ambition to grow duller and duller as the years go by, eyes left, beseeching popular favor and, who knows? perhaps, even, academic favor. Poor Ayn Rand sought to give him a massive dose of estrogen, to make him virile and irresistible; leader of a triumphant meritocratic revolt against asphyxiative government. . . . But soon it transpired, even as Russell Kirk predicted it would, that her novels were being read not because of their jackbooted individualism, but because of the fornicating bits.

The entrepreneurial class can only change its image by taking wholesome joy from its achievements; and by seeing the system whole, or not at all; as springing, season after season, from a trampoline of assumptions which are the warp and woof of freedom and progress.

Still, the campfires continue to burn, and every now and then you hear the chorus singing; the old songs, free of the tormented, tormenting introspections of the new idiom; ignorant altogether of the litany of reasons why we should hate our own country; axiomatic in their demand for human freedom; and the heart stirs, and the blood begins to run, and, each one of us, in his own way, continues the effort. Those who doubt that the spiritual resources are left have only to read a speech — almost any speech — by Patrick Moynihan in the United Nations. Those who doubt that the analytical resources are left need only read any issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, or of *The Public Interest*. Viewed from the right angle. we suddenly see that: Communism is theoretically and empirically discredited. That all over the world enslaved people continue to dream about freedom. That inroads against poverty are successful in almost exact correspondence to the vitality of the private sector. And — most significant — that there are no signs at all that God is dead—He appears to have survived even Vatican II. "I see it as one of the greatest ironies of this ironical time," Malcom Muggeridge recently wrote, "that the Christian message should be withdrawn for consideration just when it is most desperately needed to save men's reason, if not their souls. It is as though a Salvation Army band, valiantly and patiently waiting through the long years for judgment day, should, when it comes at last, and the heavens do veritably begin to unfold like a scroll, throw away their instruments and flee in terror."

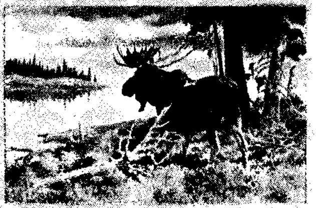
We have stood together for one-tenth of the life span of this Republic, and we must resolve to stand with it, and its ideals, forever. □

SMIRNOFF SILVER®
THE SILVER MARTINI.
FOR PEOPLE WHO WANT A SILVER LINING WITHOUT THE CLOUD.
SMIRNOFF SILVER. NINETY POINT FOUR PROOF. SMIRNOFF LEAVES YOU BREATHLESS.®
SMIRNOFF SILVER® VODKA, 90.4 PROOF. DISTILLED FROM GRAIN. STE. PIERRE SMIRNOFF FLS. (DIV. OF HEUBLEIN, INC.) HARTFORD, CONN.

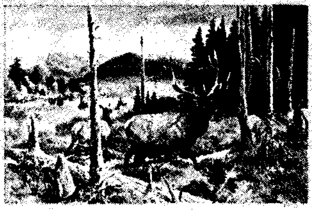


Ruffed Grouse Takes Wing

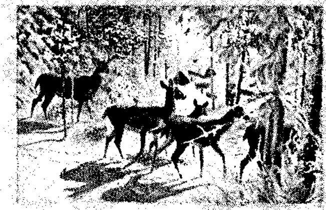
Remington 1976 calendar traces America's hunting heritage.



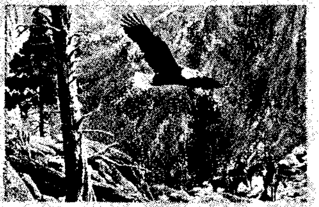
Moose and Voyageurs



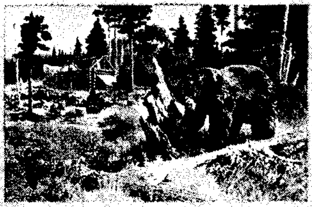
Mountain Men and Elk



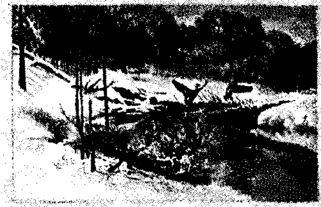
White-Tailed Deer at Valley Forge



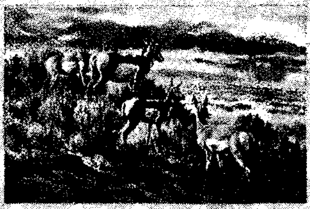
The Bald Eagle Now Fully Protected



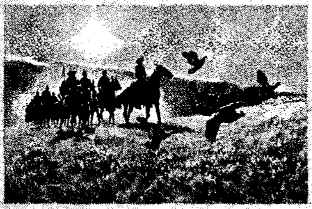
Black Bear and Early Settlers



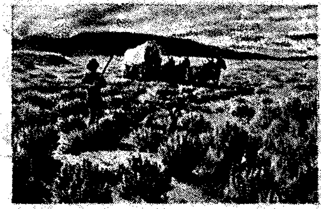
Jumping Mallards



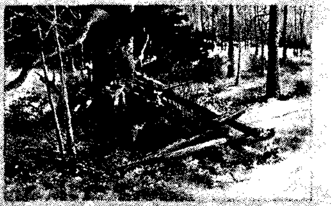
Pronghorns and Prairie Schooners



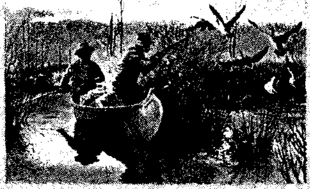
Cavalrymen and Prairie Chickens



Sage Grouse for Supper



Calling the Wild Turkey



Early Hunters and Canada Geese

Calendar size: 14" x 22½".
Actual size of all 12 calendar illustrations...14" x 9⅜".
Offer expires February 28, 1976.

Our Hunting Heritage 1776-1976

Remington 1976 calendar traces America's hunting heritage

This special commemorative collectors' edition of the Remington calendar marks the 200th birthday of our country as well as "Our Hunting Heritage, 1776 to 1976." Tom Beecham, famous wildlife artist, was commissioned to produce this outstanding portfolio of American wildlife as the early settlers saw it. Each of these oil paintings carries a story of the wildlife portrayed, together with a conservation message.

Wildlife, like most of the renewable resources that our pioneer ancestors found in this rich land, was at first exploited through unregulated hunting and wanton destruction of the habitat. Fortunately, the hunters themselves eventually realized that our wildlife must be managed. And so, today, thanks to conservation and management programs, largely supported by hunters' license fees and taxes, all kinds of wildlife—game and non-game alike—are in far better shape than they were at the turn of the century.

Readers interested in obtaining one or more of the calendars may use the coupon below, allowing four weeks for delivery.

Calendar Promotions, Inc. Dept. NR
Remington Calendar
Washington, Iowa 52353
Please send me____Remington Bicentennial Calendars @ $2.95 each, postage prepaid. Enclosed is my check or money order, payable to **Calendar Promotions, Inc.**, for $______
(Iowa residents add sales tax.)
NAME________________
ADDRESS______________
CITY_________________
STATE_________ZIP______
Offer expires February 28, 1976.

Remington. DU PONT

"Remington" is a trademark registered in the United States Patent & Trademark Office.

The Committee of Sponsors
National Review—20th Anniversary

Mr. Vincent G. Albano
Mrs. Clifford H. Anderson
Mr. Sidney P. Anderson
Mr. Walter D. Armstrong Jr.
J. M. B. Avila

Dr. Elsworth F. Baker
Mr. James B. Ball
Mr. Lee R. Barnes
Mr. Robert R. Batton
Dr. Donald M. Bebak
Mr. John E. Becker II
Mr. Schuyler P. Berry
Mrs. Minnie Gay Bird
Virginia Bisant
A. G. Block
W. S. Bodman
F. E. Boughton
Mr. Lemuel R. Boulware
Mr. Anthony T. Bouscaren
Dr. & Mrs. G. E. Branam
Mr. Elliott Brandon
Mr. George Bridgman
E. H. Briscoe
Mr. Price Burgess

Mr. & Mrs. James G. Calhoun
Mr. Vernon Callian
Dr. Julian H. Capps II
Mr. Dwight E. Carleton
Mr. Merton Carlson
Mrs. Flora Greene Clark
Dr. Guy C. Clark
Mr. & Mrs. William B. Coberly Jr.
Dr. Harry G. Collins
Mr. Garrett Cook
Mr. Victor E. Cooley
Mr. Richard L. Cottrill
Mr. Hugh W. Crowe
Rev. John J. Cuff
Madeline & Robbie Cunningham
Mr. William J. Cunningham
Mr. Cecil W. Cupp
Cynthia Anne Curry

Mr. Albert J. Dauray Jr.
Mr. Philip M. Davis
Mr. Edward W. DelColle III
Mr. Alfonso DeMatteis
Peter & Dorothy Denning
Mrs. Ray Dillon Jr.
Mr. Randall J. Dion
Mrs. Fred C. Doepke
Dr. John F. Dotter
Dr. William C. Downing
Mr. Willis K. Drake
Mr. J. Wesley Drawdy
Mr. David F. Dukelow
Mr. & Mrs. W. J. Dupuis
Mr. Mark E. Durrough

Mr. Charles Erkman
Mr. & Mrs. Owen D. Evans

Mr. Eric P. Fahrenthold
Mr. John D. Fitzsimmons
Mrs. W. C. France
Mr. Frank Furlong

Mr. Stephen Gehl
Mr. & Mrs. Robert F. Gerber
Alice S. Gifford
Mr. James C. Goebel
Mr. & Mrs. Rex F. Guidas
Mrs. Florence R. Gussman

J. R. Haley
Dr. & Mrs. Charles H. Hamilton
Mr. John A. Hardy
Mr. Vigil E. Harris
J. R. Harrison
Mr. Brice E. Hayes
Dr. & Mrs. James P. Holloway
A. S. Howe Jr.

Estes Jackman
Mrs. F. A. Jostes

Mrs. Ruth Kaltenborn
Mr. Roger M. Kelly
Mr. William H. Kelly
Dr. & Mrs. John D. King
Mildred E. Kovar

Rev. Msgr. Lorenzo J. Lacasse
Mrs. Barbara Lamon
Mr. Aubrey D. Larson
Mr. Hubert Larson
Rev. Joseph J. Lasky
Mr. Joseph C. Lawler
Mr. Robert Leibowitz
G. J. Loetterle
Mr. Eugene Lyons

Mr. J. Daniel Mahoney
Mr. Edwin R. Mance
Dr. Donald C. Martin
Mr. W. F. Martin
K. D. McCandless
Mr. Arthur B. McComb
M. M. McElwaine
Mr. John McKellip
Mr. Homer Charles McLaughlin Jr.
Msgr. James J. McLaughlin
Mr. Paul W. Miller
Mr. Charles Morse

Mr. James Keith Newhouse
Mr. John E. Newman

Mr. Joseph P. O'Leary

Mr. William S. Parkhurst
Mr. Bruce Parrello
Mr. Kenneth J. Peifer
Mr. Ronald K. Pierce
Mrs. L. A. Plass
Theodore & Ida Pollock
Mr. George W. Price
Gwilym A. Price
Mrs. W. Deane Pruden
Dr. Stewart E. Pursel

Mr. Terrence J. Quandt
Mr. Roger P. Quilling

Josephine W. Rankin
Dr. James H. Ransom
Mr. Leo Roon
Mr. Rowland Rugeley
Mr. Charles M. Ruprecht

Mrs. Stewart E. Seaman
Prof. Oskar Seidlin
Dr. Emmet Thomas Sheeran
D. J. Shoemaker
D. H. Sitz
Mr. Robert C. Skemp
Marjorie W. Smith
Dr. Byron M. Sonder
Mr. Ralph E. Spaulding
Mr. Henry M. Sperry
Mr. Jacob Sternberg
Mr. James Stewart
R. Adm. Elliott B. Strauss
Mr. Robert F. Strickler
Mrs. John J. Sullivan
Mr. John Dyke Sutherland
Mr. Richmond A. Sweet

Mr. Richard A. Talarico
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Teeter
Mr. John W. Thatcher
Mr. Robert J. Thieblot
Marian W. Thornton
Dr. Charles A. Timm

Mr. & Mrs. F. Van Dorn Moller

Dr. Bill L. Wallace
Mr. Robert L. Weston
Mr. Thomas J. Whearty Jr.
Pastor Joseph P. Whitt
Jean Widdicombe
Mrs. Bernard Wiesman
Col. Lewis C. Williams Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen G. Williams
Mr. Paul Windels Jr.
Mr. Ernest M. Wuliger

Mr. Archibald Young

Mr. Englebert Zimmerman

Parliament. The recessed filter cigarette.

1. Astrologer Yolanda Vela became a star attraction when she predicted a great future for the clean taste she got from her cigarette holder.

2. No need for a cigarette holder today. Parliament's filter is recessed, so you taste only rich, clean tobacco flavor. It's an observation you'll enjoy making.

It works like a cigarette holder works. For good taste.

Parliament
20 CLASS A CIGARETTES
PARLIAMENT
100's
RECESSED FILTER WITH CHARCOAL

Kings: 15 mg."tar," 0.8 mg. nicotine
100's: 17 mg."tar," 1.0 mg. nicotine
av. per cigarette, FTC Report Apr.'75

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

You are either

21 hours,

19 hours,

or 15 hours and 40 minutes from the most exciting country in the world.

South Africa.

(Depending on which airline you choose.)

South African Airways can get you from New York to South Africa faster than any other airline. 15 hours and 40 minutes via the Cape Verde Islands. 18 hours 15 minutes via Rio. And we fly on Friday, Saturday or Monday.

Our Friday and Saturday flights, via Cape Verde Islands get you to Johannesburg in less than 16 hours. Late Saturday or Sunday afternoon. Perfect for the businessman who wants to catch up with himself before his Monday morning meeting.

And you'll be pretty impressed with our service too. Our Gold Medallion economy class offers a three entree menu choice. And our Blue Diamond first class service is pure, incomparable luxury. From the hors d'oeuvre to the South African rock lobster to the splendid array of desserts. It's a gourmet's gastronomic dream.

In fact, SAA is probably the most wonderful way to fly to our land of wonderful contrasts. Even if we weren't faster than our competitors.

SAA
SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS

The fastest way to the land of wonderful contrasts.

There are three things to remember about Ingersoll . . .

a growing international company that builds special machine tools and advanced manufacturing systems

Before we build anything, we'll work with you to find the best solution to your manufacturing task.

We'll join with your people in a thorough study of manufacturing alternatives to find the best technical solution. And then we'll go well beyond to study the economic rightness of our recommendation. Our approach is open and creative. It begins with a definition of the task and ends with a manufacturing system that will help you gain a competitive edge. Our business is planning, engineering and building the right machining system to do *your* job.

We'll work with you until your machines reach peak production—and stay there.

Installation of Ingersoll machines doesn't end our responsibility. We help to make sure they start up on time and reach peak earning capacity as soon as possible—for it is only after a machine is producing usable parts that it begins to pay dividends. Supporting a machine with the right operator training, tooling, spare parts, maintenance and management reporting systems pays off in *extra* output and *higher* earnings.

We're a growing international organization with modern resources in the United States and Germany.

Our engineering and manufacturing facilities are among the most modern in the world—and are worldwide, too: The Ingersoll Milling Machine Company in Rockford, Illinois; Ingersoll Maschinen und Werkzeuge GmbH in Burbach, West Germany; Waldrich Siegen Werkzeugmaschinen GmbH in Siegen, West Germany; and Reinhard Bohle kg Werkzeugmaschinenfabrik in Bielefeld, West Germany. The Rockford facilities have long enjoyed the reputation as being the world's most advanced.

The Ingersoll Milling Machine Company
707 Fulton Avenue, Rockford, Illinois 61101
Telephone: (815) 987-6000 Telex: 257427

INGERSOLL

IN THE TIME IT TAKES TO LOOK FOR NEW OIL, DRILL FOR IT, BRING IN THE WELL, AND TURN IT FINALLY INTO GASOLINE...

...THEIR BABY WILL BE STARTING FIRST GRADE.

The simple truth is—it can take about five to eight years to discover new oil offshore and turn it into gasoline. To get an idea of the time and work involved, let's look at a rough timetable.

1st year: Exploring for new oil fields. This, of course, is the first step. And then—before we can start drilling—we have to lease the acreage. All told, it can easily take a year or more.

2nd year: Start exploratory drilling for oil. Unfortunately the facts in the oil business are that most exploratory drilling does not recover commercial quantities of oil or gas. The odds are something like 50 to 1 against striking oil in amounts large enough to be commercially worthwhile.

3rd year: Developing the field. One well isn't enough for the field to be fully productive. Additional wells have to be drilled. And that doesn't happen overnight or without great expense.

4th year: Transporting the crude oil. Once the well does come in, you *may* have to build a pipeline to transport the crude oil.

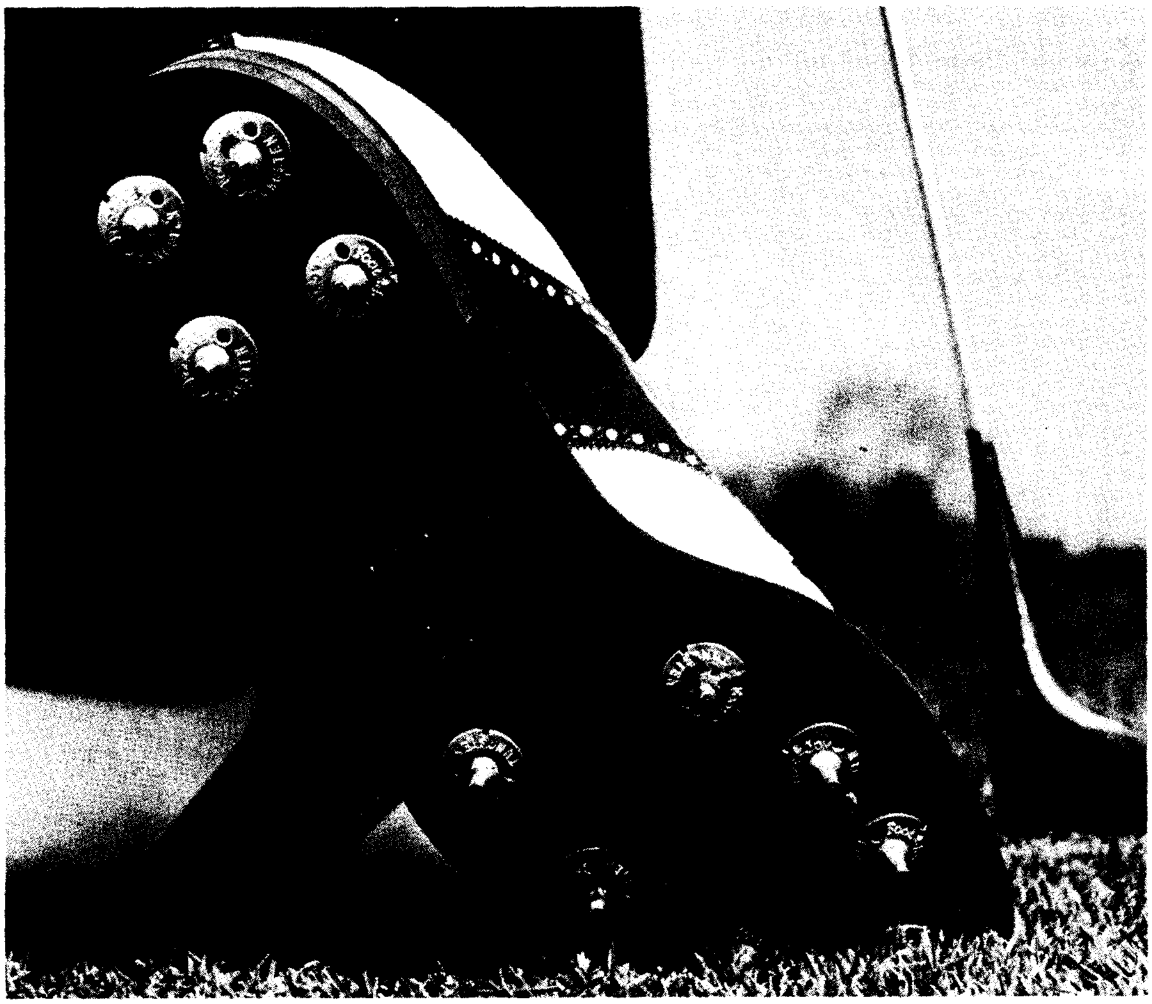
5th year: Refining the oil. Finally, we're ready for the last step—turning the oil into petroleum products. New refineries *may* have to be built. Or present ones expanded or modernized. It all takes time *and money.*

As you see, it takes a lot of time and planning and capital investment—often running into hundreds of millions of dollars—to find oil and turn it into petroleum products. The best way to supply you with the petroleum you need is through a free enterprise system that will enable us to generate the necessary capital.

TEXACO

We're working to keep your trust.

On December 6, join Texaco in a gala afternoon of opera. At 2 p.m., ET, on radio, Texaco begins its 36th season of live broadcasts from the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. At 5 p.m., ET, on CBS-TV, "Danny Kaye's Look-in at the Metropolitan Opera."



This man's standing on the hardest metal known to man.

The pins in his golf spikes are made of Kennametal tungsten carbide. And the pins we supply to golf shoe manufacturers last the life of the shoes.

That's just one small example of how Kennametal can outwear steel one hundred to one. Our hard carbide materials are used in metal cutting and metal forming, mining and construction, petrochemicals, woodworking . . . practically any industry you can name. In a superior way, Kennametal can withstand abrasion, corrosion, and other extremes of abuse.

Chances are we can make something last longer for you.

May we send you our
- ☐ annual report,
- ☐ properties and proven uses booklet,
- ☐ one of our salesmen?

Contact Kennametal Inc.,
P.O. Box 346, Latrobe, PA 15650
Phone 412-537-3311.

KENNAMETAL®

CF75-96

The Conservative Intellectual Movement In America Since 1945

7

by George H. Nash

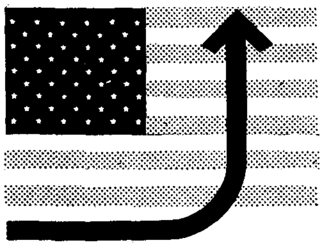
Contents

	page	
Chapter I.	A-3	Opening to the Right
Chapter II.	A-10	Fusion and Fusionism
Chapter III.	A-21	The Majority: Masses or "Virtuous People"?
Chapter IV.	A-27	The Great Willmoore
Chapter V.	A-34	The Great Machiavellian
Chapter VI.	A-38	The Right Goes Public

Excerpted from the book *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945*, by George H. Nash (© 1976 by George H. Nash), to be published soon by Basic Books, Inc., New York.

GEORGE H. NASH

The Conservative Intellectual Movement In America Since 1945



In The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945, *the full-length version of which will be published shortly by Basic Books, George H. Nash studies the evolution of the modern American conservative movement from its emergence after World War II through its present position as a major political and intellectual force in the United States. Dr. Nash, who holds a Ph.D. from Harvard (1973), is among the most accomplished younger American historians. Upon completing* The Conservative Intellectual Movement *he launched himself on two major projects, and one can confidently predict that much will be heard from him in the world of scholarship. In* The Conservative Intellectual Movement, *Dr. Nash does not confine himself to* National Review *and those who are or have been associated with it. The narrative in his book is both rich and inclusive, and its themes are multiple. But* National Review *is, unavoidably, at its center, and he discusses both the content of the magazine and the personalities associated with it beginning with its founding in 1955. As a historian, Nash achieves maximum objectivity, and it is therefore no small pleasure to note that the story he tells is by and large a success story—for* National Review *and for the American conservative movement. The editors of* National Review *have selected for this twentieth anniversary issue those parts of* The Conservative Intellectual Movement *which they judged to be of most immediate interest to* National Review *readers.* —Jeffrey Hart

CHAPTER I. Opening to the Right

BY THE MID-1950's, a vigorous, if heterogeneous, conservative intellectual movement had arisen to challenge what Frank Meyer called "the revolution of the twentieth century." Where, just a few years before, only scattered voices of intelligent right-wing protest were audible, by the end of President Eisenhower's first term a chorus of articulate critics of the Left had emerged. Although far from dominating the intellectual landscape, they had established a presence, and many of them were increasingly anxious to consolidate their forces.

If the period from 1945 to 1955 was scarcely a blissful one for conservative intellectuals, it was not the worst of times, either. Whether or not they perceived it, one fact at least should have been encouraging: disillusionment and uncertainty on the Left were widespread. Sated with power since the New Deal, blamed for the unsatisfactory postwar settlement in Europe and the disasters in Asia, accused even of complicity in treason, many liberals were afflicted by what Bernard Sternsher called "the travail of redefinition." Writing shortly after the Republican landslide in the 1946 elections, John Fischer of *Harper's Magazine* noted that liberals no longer seemed sure of their objectives. They needed "a brand new set of directions"; instead they were still living off a generation-old congeries of ideas that was now "pretty well used up." Even before the end of the New Deal, Fischer contended, liberalism had revealed its "intellectual bankruptcy." Moreover, it had left no "legacy" for confronting the postwar world. Another liberal spokesman, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., concurred; liberalism, he wrote in 1947, lacked an adequate grounding in "actuality." "The 'liberal' analysis today is predominantly wishful, sentimental, rhetorical."

Fischer and Schlesinger were not isolated voices in these years; in many quarters signs of liberal self-examination and "tiredness" multiplied. For several months in 1949 *Partisan Review* featured a spirited debate among such men as Richard Chase, Daniel Aaron, William Barrett, and Lionel Trilling on the strengths and weaknesses of the "liberal mind." The very airing of such a question was revealing.

The experience of long political success followed by disconcerting jolts at the polls was not, of course, the sole cause of liberal introspection after World War II. Undoubtedly the most wrenching factor was the onset of the Cold War abroad and the emergence of the Communist issue at home. In 1947 hundreds of prominent liberal politicians, intellectuals, and labor leaders founded the Americans for Democratic Action (A.D.A.). Vigorously anti-Communist, convinced that the Soviet Union was a menace and that liberalism must be cleansed of Popular Front illusions lingering on from the "Red Decade," the A.D.A. battled the Progressive Citizens of America (later the Progressive Party) and its hero, Henry Wallace, who favored conciliation (to his foes, appeasement) of Russia. Wallace's debacle at the polls in 1948 confirmed the triumph of the A.D.A. and the "right wing" of the liberal community. This emergence of anti-Communist or "Cold War" liberalism was strenuously applauded by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. in an influential book, *The Vital Center*, published in 1949. While critical of the American Right, which he defined primarily in economic terms and equated with businessmen, Schlesinger relentlessly concentrated most of his fire on the "doughface progressives" who could not or would not see that Communism *was* a failure, that Russia *was* a threat, that the Progressive Party of 1948 *had* been Communist-dominated, and that liberals must rid their house of totalitarians. Some of Schlesinger's criticisms of the far Left might easily have emanated from the Right. In fact, one later self-styled conservative, Robert Nisbet, identified strongly with *The Vital Center* when it first appeared. In the years to come, similar denunciations of fellow-travelers, "dupes," and "anti-anti-Communists" were frequently printed in such journals of the anti-Communist Left as *Commentary*, *Partisan Review*, and *The New Leader*.

★ II A *"Modest Revival"*

As a portion of liberalism, recoiling from the radical Left, veered toward the "vital center," some liberals began to evince an unwonted curiosity about contemporary conservatism. Perhaps, a few began to admit aloud, conservatism might have some relevance after all. Perhaps the conservative impulse had its value in an era of liberal retrenchment. Perhaps a modest conservative revival should even be welcomed as a corrective to jejune liberalism.

In part this opening to the Right reflected the exigencies of the Cold War; toleration of—even limited collaboration with—the Right seemed necessary in the face of the Communist enemy. Such reasoning probably motivated the liberal alliance with conservative intellectuals in the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, established in 1950. Another significant motive was the growing realization among liberals that they had achieved much and had much to conserve. Hence they now found themselves in an unexpectedly "conservative" *situation*. This perception was developed most forcefully in 1957 by the political scientist Samuel Huntington of Harvard University. Rejecting definitions of conservatism that associated it either with feudalism and aristocracy or with some set of immutable, universal truths, Huntington argued that conservatism was a *situational* ideology "arising out of a distinct but recurring type of historical situation in which a fundamental challenge is directed at established institutions. . . ." According to Huntington, it was the liberals who "must be the conservatives in America today"; it was the liberals whose mission was to defend "liberal, popular, and democratic" American institutions. Situational conservatism had its uses—to preserve liberal gains.

These signs of liberal interest in the Right, however, did not obscure the fact that the liberal response to the conservative intellectual movement was highly selective. Who were the leaders of intelligent conservatism in 1950? According to Schlesinger, they included August Heckscher, Peter Viereck, McGeorge Bundy, Wayne Morse, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Jacob Javits—in other words, the most "liberal" of the New Conservatives and the left wing of the Republican Party. This limited acceptance of the Right was not untypical. For while many liberals were willing to pay at least polite attention to some of the academic New Conservatives, their tolerance for the libertarian and anti-Communist wings of the movement was much lower. The "vital center" had very definite boundaries.

This selectivity of response was not lost upon conservatives, many of whom resented what they regarded as a liberal effort to divide and confuse the conservative movement. Reviewing a book by Russell Kirk in 1955, James Burnham alluded to critics of the Right. He praised Kirk for "rescuing" conservatism from "verbalists who by paying out a few modish conservative phrases are at present trying to hitch a ride on the shifting Zeitgeist." Who were these "verbalists"? Although Burnham did not offer any names, other conservatives did. According to Willmoore Kendall, one culprit was Peter Viereck, who could inform people "how to be conservative and yet agree with the liberals about Everything." Another, said Kendall, was the historian Clinton Rossiter, author of *Conservatism in America* (1955). Kendall thought Rossiter so adept at causing confusion that "he could make you feel ashamed of yourself if you were *not* both conservative and liberal." Or as Gerhart Niemeyer, a political scientist at the University of Notre Dame, gibed, "It is once again fashionable to call oneself a conservative—provided, of course, one does not stray too far from the liberal fold. Clinton Rossiter does not." Frank Meyer went even further. Not only did he consider Rossiter's "conservatism" compatible with the views of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Adlai Stevenson; he even denounced Russell Kirk himself for lacking a foundation in *principle* for unremitting resistance to statism and totalitarianism. No wonder, said Meyer, that the liberals tolerated the New Conservatism:

> They realize that the New Conservatives, with their emphasis on tone and mood, with their lack of clear principle and their virulent rejection of individualism and a free economy, threaten no danger to the pillars of the temple. . . . Even better, by the magnanimity with which they receive the New Conservatives into polite society, they justify expelling into outer darkness the principled champions of limited government and a free economy as "crackpots" and "fringe elements."

Here was one more vivid illustration of the chasm that separated Left and Right in the 1950's. If some liberals were willing, for whatever reason, to grant an audience to a few academic New Conservatives, many militant right-wing intellectuals were suspicious even of this much accommodation. The "vital center" seemed rather shaky by 1955.

Indeed, by mid-decade, there were increasing indications that the liberal mood of self-criticism was passing and that the faddish aspects of the New Conservatism discussion were dying. "I'm Sick of Conservatism," the liberal political scientist John Roche entitled an article in *The New Leader*. If conservatism meant Burkean reverence for history and organic change, then it was obvious that an American conservative should be a liberal, for our tradition was liberal. If, Roche continued, conservatism consisted merely of a set of attitudes or a way of living, it lacked programmatic content and reduced itself to a mere "affirmation of human decency." Either way, it was irrelevant to modern America.

★ II *Inferior Articulation*

While the heterogeneity of their movement and liberal antagonism to it provided the background for conservative consolidation in the mid-1950's, another factor was more directly related to their wish to achieve coherence: their continuing consciousness of how small an intellectual minority they remained. Although Russell Kirk might proclaim that liberalism as an ideology was expiring, William F. Buckley, Jr. realized that the Left as an intellectual movement was still very much alive and that the Right still lacked sufficient focus. "The few spasmodic victories conservatives are winning," he wrote late in 1954, "are aimless, uncoordinated, and inconclusive. This is so . . . because many years have gone by since the philosophy of freedom has been expounded systematically, brilliantly, and resourcefully."

Why this weakness? Why did there exist what Arthur Krock called in 1949 "this superior articulation of the Left"? To Buckley and many other conservatives, the key to the imbalance lay not in any inherent conservative defects but in the overwhelming liberal domination of the universities and influential media of the nation. Undoubtedly the *locus classicus* of this belief was Buckley's controversial *God and Man at Yale*, published in 1951. In it Buckley strove to document the monumental anti-Christian and collectivist bias which, he believed, was corrupting his *alma mater*. Although the young writer stated in his introduction that he expected his book to arouse "bitter antagonism," he soon realized that he had been "naive beyond recognition."

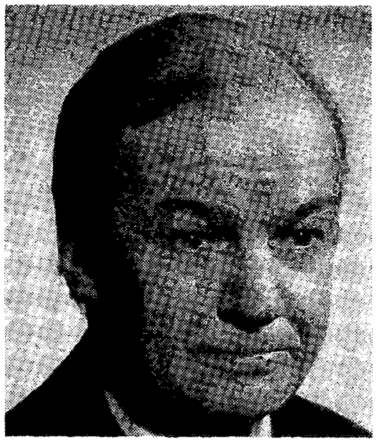
> Much of what came was unexpected. I should have known better, of course, for I had seen the Apparatus go to work on other dissenters from the liberal orthodoxy, and I respected the Apparatus and stood in awe of it. . . .

Go to work it certainly did. Yale was furious; across the country scandalized liberal reviewers denounced Buckley's attack on what he called "the superstitions of academic freedom" and his call for alumni to establish at Yale the orthodoxy *they* wished to pay for and perpetuate. Among the angriest critics was McGeorge Bundy, who labeled Buckley "a twisted and ignorant young man whose personal views of economics would have seemed reactionary to Mark Hanna." But if liberals fulminated, conservatives cheered. In the *American Mercury* Max Eastman pronounced the book "brilliant," although, as an atheist, he objected to the chapter on religion and to Buckley's call for "indoctrination." In *The Freeman*, Felix Wittmer, a professor at New Jersey State Teachers College, asserted that Buckley had rendered a service to Yale, America, and Western civilization.

Buckley's bombshell was only the most publicized example of what became a recurrent conservative theme in the postwar years. While the authors of *The New American Right*—Daniel Bell, David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, Richard Hofstadter, Talcott Parsons, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Peter Viereck—tended to see conservatives' complaints as evidence of frustration, anti-intellectualism, and "status anxiety," conservatives considered liberal hegemony in the universities to be an undeniable fact. So solidly liberal did Academe appear, in fact, to the administrators of the small, conservative Volker Fund that they actually hired assistants in the 1950's simply to search for conservative scholars who were unaware of the Fund and who might be potential recipients of grants from it.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the face of the "superior articulation" and "field position" of the intellectual Left in the early 1950's, many conservatives increasingly came to believe that a new journal, in addition to *The Freeman*, *Human Events*, and the *American Mercury*, was needed to combat the liberals, to compensate for conservative weakness in Academe, and to focus the energies of the diverse movement. Writing in *Human Events* in 1953, John Chamberlain declared that libertarians needed "not new authors" but "supporting media"—especially a *Saturday Review* or "a New York newspaper with a Sunday review supplement that can reach the bookstores of the hinterlands." In a letter to Buckley in 1953, Kevin Corrigan, then employed by the Henry Regnery Company, reported that he had recently asked James Burnham what he considered to be "the most urgent of all anti-Communist tasks." Instantly Burnham had replied, "A magazine," preferably a weekly that would, like *The New Republic* and *The Nation* in the heyday of the New Deal, reach "opinion-makers all over the country every week."

Ground-breaking book publisher



Henry Regnery

Burnham's views were echoed by the conservative Chicago publisher Henry Regnery, who had printed Buckley's *God and Man at Yale*. Deeply concerned by what he deemed "the collectivistic indoctrination of American youth in the universities," Regnery declared in 1953 that the "means of communication in this country are pretty well controlled by the Left." Indeed, Regnery had founded his company precisely because "I felt it was time somebody did something to break the almost complete monopoly of book publishing, which is really the key to the whole thing, by New York intellectuals." Contending that Communism was not a mass movement but a "system of ideas," Regnery lamented the conservatives' failure to realize that "men don't live by bread alone, that it is ideas that shape history. . . ."

> So far the Left has won nearly every battle, and the Left still controls the important positions. . . . So long as they control the means of communication, they don't have to worry too much about a slight setback in Washington. If we want to do anything, we must work on the level of ideas.

One man who was determined to do just that was the New Conservative scholar Russell Kirk. In an article in 1955 Kirk decried the fact that most American periodicals were suffused with the "oppressive ideology" of "ritualistic liberalism"; there was not one explicitly conservative quarterly in the entire country. Nor was the monthly *Freeman*, then edited by arch-anti-statist Frank Chodorov, truly conservative either. There was not, in other words, an adequate outlet for long and more literary articles of a conservative bent. For some time before Kirk's essay was published, he had been attempting to rectify this imbalance. An initial motive was to replace *Measure*, the scholarly publication of the Committee on Social Thought of the University of Chicago. While not overtly conservative, *Measure*, before its demise in 1951, had published articles by Kirk, Wilhelm Röpke, T. E. Utley, and other American and European right-wing intellectuals. In April 1951 Kirk wrote to the Burke scholar Ross Hoffman that he was working on a proposed fortnightly journal to be called *The American Conservative*. For a time he tentatively renamed it *The Federal Review* and *The Conservative Review*.

★ II *Needed: A Weekly*

In a prospectus circulated to his friends in 1954, Kirk described the kind of periodical he had in mind. "No monthly magazine of a reflective, leisurely, imaginative, serious, and good-natured character," he began, "is widely circulated in America today." No solid journal with the influence wielded by the *Quarterly Review* and the *Edinburgh Review* in nineteenth-century Britain now existed. Kirk proposed to establish one, with a circulation of 30,000 to 50,000—a review that would be read by "professors, clergymen, leaders of business, men in government, professional persons, and those reflective people in obscure walks of life who preserve the equilibrium of any society. . . ." The purpose of such a periodical should be frankly conservative: "to revive the best elements in American and European thought."

After several years of preparation and with the aid of Henry Regnery, Kirk's journal appeared as a quarterly in 1957. Entitled *Modern Age: A Conservative Review*, it immediately became the principal—indeed, the only—scholarly medium deliberately designed to publish conservative thought in the United States. Kirk's enterprise was primarily oriented toward the traditionalist or New Conservative segment of the conservative revival. Despite the handicaps of little money or editorial assistance, by the time Kirk resigned in 1959 he had established what he desired: a dignified forum for reflective, traditional conservatism. *Modern Age* had filled a desperate need; even after Kirk's departure it remained the principal quarterly of the intellectual Right.

Founder of Modern Age

Russell Kirk

While Kirk's venture unquestionably helped to consolidate the conservative movement, it was obviously not sufficient by itself. For one thing, *Modern Age* was a quarterly, not a weekly, and it refrained for the most part from topical political discussions. Moreover, its clientele was largely academic and traditionalist. It could only partially compensate, therefore, for what Arthur Krock might have called the inferior articulation of the Right. In the early 1950's many conservatives sought anxiously to fill the continuing gap.

The crucial figure in initiating a new conservative weekly, curiously enough, appears to have been a European émigré named William S. Schlamm. Born in Austria in 1904, Schlamm had become a Communist as a teenager, had broken when he was only 25, and had become in the 1930's a prominent anti-Nazi and anti-Stalinist newspaper editor in Vienna and Prague. In 1937 he published *Diktatur der Lüge (The Dictatorship of the Lie)*, a vehement critique of Stalinism and the Trotsky trial. In 1938, despondent about the future of democratic Europe, he emigrated to the United States, where he soon became a columnist for *The New Leader*. An acquaintance with John Chamberlain helped to lead Schlamm to the editorial staff of *Fortune* in 1941; two years later he became assistant and foreign policy adviser to Henry Luce, editor-in-chief of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*. During these years Schlamm, who had still considered himself a "non-Marxian socialist" in the 1930's, gradually moved to the Right. It was, he said, "my intellectual Americanization."

During his years with Luce, Schlamm became the editor-designate of *Measure*, not the University of Chicago journal, but a new intellectual magazine which Luce was planning to add to his publishing empire. For various financial and other reasons, the periodical never appeared. When Schlamm left Time, Inc. in 1951, however, his interest in journalism did not cease. For most of the next three years he helped to edit *The Freeman*; he hoped "to create a new type of Conservative Journalism. . . ." In 1952, he met William F. Buckley, Jr. and was immensely impressed by the young conservative author and debater. Probably recalling his abortive attempt to found *Measure*, and thoroughly convinced that in Buckley he had found an extraordinary recruit, Schlamm sought to interest his friend in founding "a journal of conservative opinion"; the idea was "obsessive" with him. At last, in 1953—according to Schlamm's account

—he secured Buckley's assent to the undertaking. In the next two years he worked closely with Buckley in this effort.

For all of Schlamm's enthusiasm, it is quite possible that a new conservative magazine would never have appeared had there not occurred in 1952 and 1953 a severe internal crisis in *The Freeman*. Before this crisis arose, there had been few if any right-wing complaints about the journal; in the heat of the election year of 1952, the atmosphere changed. At the center of the storm was a new *Freeman* editor, Forrest Davis, a journalist and an adviser to Senator Taft. Soon Davis clashed with co-editor Henry Hazlitt and offended some pro-Eisenhower members of the board of directors by his pro-Taft activities. Some of the director-stockholders were also distressed by the alleged stridency of the editors and sought to alter the journal's tone. In October 1952, Hazlitt, who had many reservations about Senator Joseph McCarthy, resigned, complaining about *The Freeman*'s tendency to make the senator a "sacred character." In Hazlitt's opinion the magazine had become too centered on personalities—particularly McCarthy's. In the next few months the situation worsened as the directors divided almost evenly on the question of retaining Davis. Finally, in January 1953, with *The Freeman* unable to raise money or pay its bills, the three principal editors—Davis, John Chamberlain, and Suzanne La Follette—resigned and began at once to explore the possibility of founding a new journal. William Schlamm joined their exodus.

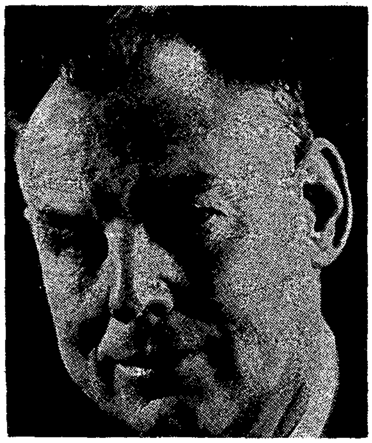
If the feud within *The Freeman*, by releasing several of its most talented editors for fresh activities, increased interest in a new journal, the nature of *The Freeman* after 1953 further intensified the desire for a change. In 1954 Leonard Read and the Foundation for Economic Education bought *The Freeman*, converted it from a biweekly to a monthly, and installed the near-anarchist Frank Chodorov as editor. Once more the Right lacked an intellectual weekly or fortnightly journal of opinion. To William F. Buckley, Jr., this development meant that the old *Freeman* had, to all intents and purposes, "folded." Accordingly, he made the final decision to proceed with plans to establish and edit a new magazine; in the next eighteen months or so he strove to amass the necessary capital. Buckley was aided by his comparative youth. Still under thirty, he could not easily be seen as a competitor by the older, established journalists he gathered around him. With surprising ease a diverse "constellation" of right-wing luminaries came together in his enterprise.

★ II *National Review*

The objective of the new magazine, as Buckley conceived it, would be "to revitalize the conservative position" and to "influence the opinion-makers" of the nation. Incredibly, he noted, while conservatives did not possess one weekly journal of opinion in 1955, the liberals had eight. "They know the power of ideas, and it is largely for this reason that socialist-liberal forces have made such a great headway in the past thirty years." Buckley forcefully rejected what he called "the popular and cliché-ridden appeal to the 'grass-roots'" and strove instead to establish a journal which would reach intellectuals. Not all conservatives agreed with this approach, but the young editor-to-be was firm. It was the intellectuals, after all, "who have midwived and implemented the revolution. We have got to have allies among the intellectuals, and we propose to renovate conservatism and see if we can't win some of them around."

At last, in November 1955, a few days before Buckley's thirtieth birthday, the new periodical, *National Review*, appeared; it was strikingly similar in format to the pre-1953 *Freeman*. In fact, most of the names that initially graced its masthead had worked for or at least contributed to that magazine. But Buckley's journal was not destined to be a mere replica of *The Freeman*. Its function was not solely to renew the attack against the Left but to consolidate the Right.

Libertarian journalist



John Chamberlain

Buckley's success in welding a coalition was substantial. New Conservatives, libertarians, and anti-Communists were represented on the masthead and readily gained access to the pages of the magazine. Among the traditionalists, Russell Kirk contributed a regular column, while Richard Weaver, Donald Davidson, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, and many others either assisted the magazine in its birth or came to it eventually. But for his unexpected death, the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset would have contributed an essay entitled "The Revolt against the Masses" to an early issue. The impact of libertarians was also evident, notably in the presence on the masthead of John Chamberlain, Frank Chodorov, the European economist Wilhelm Röpke, and those vehement ex-radical critics of statism, Max Eastman and Frank Meyer. Especially noticeable was the extraordinary concentration of ex-Communists, ex-Trotskyists, and others with radical pasts among the magazine's early editors and associates. James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall, William Schlamm, Frank Meyer, Freda Utley, Richard Weaver, Max Eastman, John Chamberlain, and Whittaker Chambers: all had once been on the Left and all contributed—sometimes profoundly—to the shaping and management of the new magazine. Even before 1955, the radicals-turned-conservative had affected the consciousness of the American Right; through the medium of *National Review* their influence was extended. Without the efforts of such militant, strong-willed ex-radicals as Burnham, Meyer, and Schlamm, *National Review* would never have succeeded. If *The Freeman* was libertarian and *Modern Age* was traditionalist, one distinctive mark of *National Review* was the prominence of ex-radicals in its coalition government.

The principal themes of the journal reflected the varied constituencies from which it drew support. The editors, in their initial declaration of beliefs, pronounced themselves "irrevocably" at war with "satanic" Communism; coexistence was "neither desirable, nor possible, nor honorable"; victory must be the American goal. In nearly every issue James Burnham, the magazine's chief global strategist, wrote a column on "The Third World War." The journal was also open to Senator McCarthy. Not only did it have him review a book by his foe Dean Acheson, but it occasionally published defenses of "McCarthyism" and replies to its critics. Moreover, the editors affirmed the "competitive price system" as "indispensable to liberty and material progress" and asserted that they were "libertarian" in the battle against the growth of government—a threat to freedom which "must be fought relentlessly." On another front, they announced themselves to be "conservative" (that is, traditionalist) in the struggle between "the Social Engineers, who seek to adjust mankind to conform with scientific utopias, and the disciples of Truth, who defend the organic moral order." Several of the early leaders of the *National Review* circle, in fact, were Roman Catholics. Buckley was of course the most prominent, while Bozell and Kendall, to take two more examples, were converts. Not surprisingly, another striking characteristic of the journal in its early years was the amount of space it devoted to criticism of the Academy. Two columns—Kirk's "From the Academy" and Buckley's "The Ivory Tower"—were repeatedly devoted to the excesses and follies of the people who administered and taught in the universities. The critique of the intellectual class continued to be a prominent feature of postwar conservative thought.

★ II *No Accommodation*

Above all, *National Review* in its first years was dominated by the conviction that its pre-eminent intellectual enemy—and the editors insisted that it *was* an enemy—was liberalism. It was the liberals, said Buckley in the first issue, "who run this country." In his column "The Liberal Line" Willmoore Kendall regularly attempted to discern the strategy and tactics of the foe. Kendall's column was predicated on several assumptions that were shared by the other editors: that there did exist a recognizably liberal credo on contemporary issues, that this liberal viewpoint was held by most of the country's "leading opinion-makers," and that these liberals relentlessly sought to pound their views into the public. In short, a powerful liberal "propaganda machine" was

> engaged in a major, sustained assault upon the sanity, and upon the prudence and the morality of the American people—its sanity, because the political reality of which they speak is a dream world that nowhere exists, its prudence and morality because their values and goals are in sharpest conflict with the goals and values appropriate to the American tradition. . . .

This fundamental philosophical antagonism even to the non-Communist Left was far removed from the New Conservatism of Peter Viereck or the "vital center" liberalism of Arthur Schlesinger. Viereck in particular had sought a kind of alliance between liberals and conservatives to beat back "Communazi" extremists. To many of the *National Review* conservatives, no such accommodation was ultimately possible, certainly not on the level of principle. For they deeply believed—as Whittaker Chambers, among others, had taught them—that the Left was, in basic philosophy, united. As William Rusher put it when he became publisher in 1957, "the Liberal Establishment . . . shares Communism's materialist principles." A year later Frank Meyer summarized the conservative case with characteristic pungency. The phenomenon called "McCarthyism," he explained, had established a number of undeniable truths:

> 1) that contemporary liberalism is in agreement with Communism on the most essential point—the necessity and desirability of socialism; 2) that it regards all inherited value—theological, philosophical, political—as without intrinsic virtue or authority; 3) that, therefore, no irreconcilable differences exist between it and Communism—only differences as to method and means; and 4) that, in view of these characteristics of their ideology, the liberals are unfit for the leadership of a free society, and intrinsically incapable of offering serious opposition to the Communist offensive.

It was obvious that the "inner civil war" between Left and Right had not ended with the censure of Joseph McCarthy.

National Review's uncompromising enunciation of its principles was in part a reflection of the desperate crisis in which the journal's editors believed the nation to be involved. While the fact that the magazine had appeared at all was a significant accomplishment, no one could deny the magnitude of the task ahead. *National Review*, Buckley proclaimed in the first issue, "stands athwart history, yelling Stop. . . ." It is "out of place" in the world today "because, in its maturity, literate America rejected conservatism in favor of radical social experimentation." To be a conservative was to be part of a group of "non-licensed nonconformists" in a world of enormous, liberal-imposed conformity. No wonder, then, that a journal was needed for "radical conservatives"—ignored by the "irresponsible," "well-fed Right" and abused by the liberals.

To consolidate the Right

William F. Buckley, Jr.

Although *National Review* was welcomed by a large number of conservative intellectuals, not all of them felt entirely comfortable with its tone and substance; several traditionalists in particular were either aloof or critical. Both Peter Viereck and the Southern Agrarian Allen Tate, for example, were asked to contribute pieces to the journal but declined; Tate refused because *National Review* supported Senator McCarthy. Abroad, T. S. Eliot, virtually a patron saint of much New Conservatism, objected to certain aspects of the journal. It was, he wrote to Russell Kirk, "too consciously the vehicle of a defiant minority."

> I fear that a reader of the *National Review* who does not already share 100% Mr. Buckley's opinions, might gradually get the impression that it was a vehicle of prejudice, and that all issues were decided in advance.

Eliot thought it especially "ill-advised" to have Senator McCarthy review a book by Dean Acheson. In another letter he reiterated his "very mixed feelings" about the new journal and said he found *Modern Age* "much more welcome."

★ II *A Defiant Minority*

While regularly contributing a column to *National Review*, Russell Kirk also had definite reservations about the venture. For one thing, he wrote to Eliot, the magazine evinced "too much Yale undergraduate spirit." For another, Kirk had been incensed by Frank Meyer's searing attack on him in the July 1955 *Freeman* and was uncomfortable not only with Meyer but also with other arch-individualists like Chodorov, whom he had recently criticized. To appear on the same masthead with these foes was unacceptable, particularly when it seemed to Kirk that Meyer and Chodorov were conducting a campaign to reduce his influence among conservatives. Consequently, Kirk directed Buckley to take his name off the masthead. He later explained that he did not want to be considered partially responsible for the collective editorial policy of the magazine. Kirk was willing, in short, to do what he could to make *National Review* a success, but he did not wish to become totally identified with *National Review*'s brand of conservatism.

In retrospect these disputes seem less important than the fact that the journal was gradually beginning to have an impact in the late 1950's. In 1956, Clinton Rossiter, hardly the magazine's favorite scholar, wrote, "*National Review* continues to interest, amuse and anger me, and what more can I ask of a magazine? I don't get this reaction from any other journal these days." To be sure, the magazine's average circulation remained small (less than 20,000 in its first three years, 30,000 by 1960), and it continually faced financial disaster. In 1958 it was forced to become a biweekly. Nevertheless, in a fund-raising appeal in 1958 Buckley proudly contended that

> *National Review* has entered the mainstream of American thought, and it is now an institutional fact of American life. It is no longer a new and experimental magazine. It is no longer a flash fire by the Neanderthal Right. It is the voice of American conservatism, and more and more, it is recognized as such.

Two years later, at the fifth anniversary dinner, Buckley was equally emphatic. *National Review*, he echoed Admiral Lewis Strauss, was "organically American, rooted in the nation's deepest traditions, and beyond that even, in the deepest traditions of Western civilization. . . ."

Buckley's buoyancy was hardly meant to convey the impression that the battle was won. Indeed, his praise of *National Review* contrasted dramatically with several liberal fusillades aimed at it in the formative months of its existence. According to John Fischer of *Harper's Magazine*, Buckley's new journal was not conservative at all; it was radical, exhibiting such telltale signs of extremism as humorlessness, utopianism, inconsistency, and a persecution complex. Murray Kempton claimed that the magazine was boring and trivial. Most savage of all was Dwight Macdonald, who castigated the new journal as dull, low-quality fare offered by obscure and eccentric "scrambled eggheads" for "intellectually underprivileged" provincials. *National Review*, he charged, was "the voice of the *lumpen*-bourgeoisie."

Conservatives naturally offered rebuttals to these denunciations. Willmoore Kendall, for instance, sarcastically noted that for the Liberal Propaganda Machine "a 'conservative' publication is not really conservative unless it is liberal." But conservatives were not, William Rusher later recalled, preoccupied by them. For although these responses from the Left reinforced their awareness of the long uphill road ahead, nothing could obscure the fact that *National Review* was beginning to create networks of association and channels of communication. These were essential to any movement, but especially to one attempting to stand athwart history yelling "Stop." *National Review*, appearing week after week, drawing on an ever-expanding cast of intellectuals, was beginning—slowly, step by step—to compensate for the superior articulation of the Left. It cannot be overemphasized that *National Review* was not simply one more periodical conveying a modicum of news and comment to the faithful. It was, instead, a forum for disputation, a means by which scattered intellectuals could learn about one another, a framework within which a heterogeneous group of often highly individualistic men and women could come together to work in what seemed to be a common cause. As the only significant avowedly conservative journal of opinion for a long time after 1955, *National Review* was far more indispensable to the Right than any single liberal journal was to the Left. Not all conservatives wrote for *National Review*; not all approved of it; certainly disagreements among its contributors proved to be profound. Nevertheless, if *National Review* (or something like it) had not been founded, there would probably have been no interlocking intellectual force on the Right in the 1960's and 1970's. To a very substantial degree, the history of reflective conservatism in America after 1955 is the history of the individuals who collaborated in—or were discovered by—the magazine William F. Buckley, Jr. founded.

If, in the middle and late 1950's, renascent conservatism finally found its essential foci in *National Review* and *Modern Age*, an even more serious task lay before it: the generation of intellectual cohesiveness out of the coalitions and "constellations" that had emerged toward the end of the first postwar decade. It was reassuring to conservatives to know that they stood together. What, though, did they stand *for*? What, if anything, bound these disparate people into one movement? What *intellectual legitimacy did* their movement really have? What, in fact, *was* conservatism? What was conservatism in America? Reflective conservatives, pondering these issues, realized that true consolidation must go beyond journalism and publicity. What Eric Voegelin called, in a different context, "retheoretization" must continue and intensify. But at least—and at last—they knew they were not alone.

The moment of consolidation was the moment of transition for postwar American conservatism.

CHAPTER II. Fusion and Fusionism

IN THE SPRING OF 1956, *National Review* was only a few months old and *Modern Age* was still struggling to be born. But already a sense of possibility was beginning to affect the conservative revival. It was a time, William F. Buckley, Jr. wrote to Russell Kirk, "when the very nature of conservatism is being re-examined." It was a time when men of the Right were beginning to refine their positions and to locate common ground.

That the need for self-definition was urgent seemed increasingly obvious to perceptive conservatives in the mid-1950's. For theirs was no precisely focused, unified vanguard entrenched in the universities, the media, the foundations, the churches, or other leading centers of influence in the nation's intellectual life. Instead, a fervent but embattled minority—not even one movement, really, but three—was striving to gain intellectual coherence. What emerged in 1955 around *National Review* was not a single "voice of conservatism" but a coalition of often competing intellectuals.

It is not surprising, therefore, that one of the distinctive features of conservative thought in the decade after 1955 was an almost Sisyphean quest for philosophical order. Although right-wing intellectuals frequently denied that conservatism was a neatly packaged ideology, many of them strove nevertheless to clarify the meaning of that elusive term. It was a challenge reinforced by William F. Buckley's making *National Review* a forum for the many instead of an organ for a sectarian few. With aggressive ex-Communists, anti-statists of varying purity, and many kinds of traditionalists all rubbing shoulders in a common endeavor, friction was inevitably generated, and from friction came heat and light. Because of this heterogeneity, because of the peculiar circumstances of its birth, American conservatism in the late 1950's and early 1960's anxiously sought an identity.

To anyone who read *National Review* in its first four or five years, it must have been obvious that the search for unity—or even harmony—was going to be difficult. Time and again disputes about the nature of responsible conservatism broke out—disputes which at least helped, however, to indicate what was acceptable to the *National Review* circle that was coming to dominate the respectable Right. One of the earliest such efforts at self-definition involved Peter Viereck, whose brand of New Conservatism seemed increasingly divergent from that espoused by William F. Buckley, Jr. and his associates. To Viereck, conservatism emphatically did not mean Senator Robert Taft, Senator Joseph McCarthy, "Manchester liberalism," laissez-faire, "thought-control nationalism," or total hostility to the New Deal. Instead, it was a "centrist" philosophy, rejecting doctrinaire bitter-end extremism on both Left and Right. Liberalism *per se* was not an enemy but a potential ally against totalitarianism. The New Deal, while imperfect in many respects, was not a revolution but a reform movement that had prevented a revolution. In 1956 Viereck even declared that the New Conservatism was "a non-party philosophy close to that of Adlai Stevenson among Democrats, Clifford Case among Republicans," and he enthusiastically commended Stevenson for distinguished conservative leadership.

All this naturally aroused the displeasure of *National Review*, and in an early issue Frank Meyer in the "Books in Review" section pronounced his anathema. Meyer was particularly incensed by a tendency among liberal intellectuals to designate Viereck a right-wing spokesman. Viereck was no such thing, Meyer countered; he was a man of "unexceptionably liberal sentiments" which he was "passing off" as conservatism. To Meyer and most of the Buckley circle, liberalism itself was the target, the New Deal was a revolution to be fought relentlessly, and Adlai Stevenson was not in the least a model for conservative political action. The enemy was the Left, period—not just its extremist fringe.

★ I *Meyer, Kirk, and Mill*

Among the first to initiate the search for a viable conservative philosophy was the former Communist warhorse Frank Meyer. An intense, sometimes fiery, heavy-smoking man who worked by night and slept by day, he had slowly fought his way from Communism to libertarian individualism after World War II. Meyer was becoming known as a man who would tolerate no ideological nonsense. "Principles and Heresies," he called his column in *National Review*, and in it he relentlessly exposed deviationists.

One of Meyer's earliest targets was none other than Russell Kirk, whose book *The Conservative Mind* had done as much as any book to fortify and legitimize the postwar conservative revival. Even before joining *National Review*, Meyer had criticized Kirk in a 1955 article in *The Freeman*. The trouble with Kirk and the New Conservatives generally, said Meyer, was a lack of grounding in "clear and distinct principle." For all the froth and tone of their writing, they failed utterly to provide a crisp, analytic framework for opposing the statism threatening to engulf us. Conservatism "carries with it . . . no built-in defense against the acceptance, grudging though it may be, of institutions which reason and prudence would otherwise reject, if only those institutions are sufficiently firmly established." Kirk simply had no standards, no "principle," for achieving his goals. Conservatism? What should one conserve? Meyer was additionally angered by Kirk's denunciations of "individualism." To the ex-radical, who believed that "*all* value resides in the individual," Kirk did not comprehend the principles and institutions of a free society. No wonder, then, that some liberals applauded the New Conservatism, he concluded bitterly. This amorphous movement was no threat to them.

In an early issue of *National Review*, Meyer again crossed swords with Kirk; this time the issue was one of Meyer's heroes, John Stuart Mill. According to Kirk, history had "refuted" Mill's faith in progress, enlightenment, and rational discussion:

> It is consummate folly to tolerate every variety of opinion, on every topic, out of devotion to an abstract "liberty"; for opinion soon finds its expression in action, and the fanatics whom we tolerated will not tolerate us when they have power. . . . An incessant zeal for repression is not the answer to the complex problem of liberty, either; but . . . liberty cannot be maintained

or extended by an abstract appeal to free discussion, sweet reasonableness, and solitary simple principle.

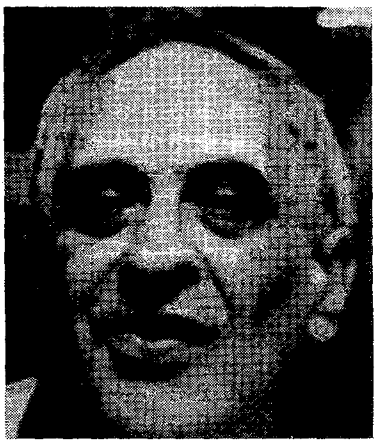
The threat today, Kirk added, was not—as Mill thought—conformity to custom. It was the very destruction of custom and tradition by "the lust after novelty." To Meyer, however, such strictures were misleading and unjustifiable. To be sure, Mill's thought was mired in utilitarianism and did not acknowledge "the source of man's rights in the realm of value beyond history." Mill had not been "absolute" enough! Nevertheless,

> in vindicating the individual person as the measure of value over against the collective instrumentalities of state and society, and in demanding that the worth of a society should be judged by the degree to which it makes possible the freedom of the individual, he vindicated the first principle of morality (for no man can act morally unless he is free to choose good from evil).

Mill still had much to teach us—particularly in the battle against the state. Meyer abhorred Kirk's implication that the age of discussion was over and that the free use of reason was a dangerous political ideal. "The use of force against those who propound error is wrong," he thundered, "not because it is inexpedient but because it is an outrage upon the freedom of man and, in that, upon the very nature of man."

Between Meyer's appeal to universal truths like "the freedom of the individual" and Kirk's critique of such "abstractions" in the name of history and concrete circumstances lay a vast gulf. No one was more aware of it than Kirk himself. But the feud between Kirk and Meyer was really much more than personal. Other conservative intellectuals were also disturbed by Kirk's seemingly nostalgic and indiscriminate traditionalism. Kirk, a self-styled "Bohemian Tory" and author of Gothic novels, tended to play the traditionalist, too, living in an old family house in remote Mecosta, Michigan (pop. 200) and referring to himself as "the last bonnet laird of the stump country." Kirk's adoration of "the wisdom of our ancestors" was no doubt useful, Richard Weaver observed on one occasion, but the question was: Which ancestors? "After all, Adam was our ancestor. . . . If we have an ancestral legacy of wisdom we have also an ancestral legacy of folly. . . ."

Theorist of fusion



Frank S. Meyer

In these early years Kirk himself did not hesitate to stoke the fires of controversy. In *The Conservative Mind* he had said flatly: "True conservatism, conservatism uninfected by Benthamite or Spencerian ideas, rises at the antipodes from individualism. Individualism is social atomism; conservatism is community of spirit." In another book he criticized "individualism" as anti-Christian; one could not logically be a Christian and an individualist at once. Kirk distinguished between private property and free enterprise—which he supported—and the ideology of individualism, which he labeled "a denial that life has any meaning except gratification of the ego. . . ." The political result of individualism, he asserted, was anarchy. According to Kirk, Friedrich Hayek and the "Manchesterian" economists, as well as more modern liberals such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., were all guilty of superficial and false assumptions about the nature of man. It was wrong to expect that economic doctrines alone would save us; it was wrong to conceive of production and consumption as the proper goals for men. Conservatism, while hostile to collectivism, was not the equivalent of laissez-faire, nor could it benignly acquiesce in the current structure of the economy. "As the consolidation of economic power progresses," Kirk warned, "the realm of personal freedom will diminish, whether the masters of the economy are state servants or the servants of private corporations." Perhaps, he even suggested, our economy was "*too* efficient for life on a truly human scale."

★ II *Whigs vs. Tories*

If Kirk had reservations about Hayek, the scholarly Austrian economist was even more critical of conservatism. In an essay entitled "Why I Am Not a Conservative," published in 1959, Hayek carefully distinguished his "Old Whig" position from that of the European Right. Conservatism, he asserted, lacked a coherent set of principles and programs with which to combat its foes. It was excessively hostile to innovation and new knowledge, ignorant of free-market economics, and altogether too inclined to use the state for its own purposes rather than limiting this threat to liberty. It had often been overly nationalistic and even willing to acquiesce in socialism. It was a philosophy of drift, anti-intellectualism, and fear.

With Meyer, Kirk, Weaver, Hayek, and other right-wingers already arguing about fundamentals, a liberal scholar, M. Morton Auerbach, entered the fray in 1959 with *The Conservative Illusion*. Defining conservatism as a philosophy which exalted "harmony," "tranquillity," the minimization of individual desires, and the maximization of "community," Auerbach argued that this philosophy, from Plato to Burke to Kirk, had been impaled on historical and logical "contradictions." America, for example, had never been a conservative country; the twentieth century was "the least congenial period in the history of Western civilization for conservative ideals. Conservatism seeks 'community,' tradition, harmony, and quiescence. In this century, it has found organization, violence, political power, and revolutionary upheaval." Repeatedly Auerbach bludgeoned conservatives (that is, traditionalists) with "dilemmas." If conservatives sought to "adjust" to "historical development," they became un-conservative. If they chose to fight the tides of history, they were doomed to futility and alienation. Either way, there was no hope: "For the twentieth century at least, the divorce between conservatism and reality is permanent." In an article in *National Review* in 1962 Auerbach extended his assault to the classical liberal wing of the new Right. To this contradiction-minded scholar, it was utterly "fallacious" to combine classical liberalism with the "medieval" New Conservatism; the whole movement, in fact, was merely a haphazard "do-it-yourself conservatism."

The conservative reply to Auerbach was unanimous: he did not know what he was talking about. M. Stanton Evans, the 28-year-old editor of the *Indianapolis News*, claimed that Auerbach had failed to distinguish between fundamental conservative principles and transitory "epiphenomena" peculiar to a given epoch. Russell Kirk agreed; Auerbach's difficulty was that he adhered to "hollow slogans" and tried to compartmentalize reality without realizing that "great political ideas transcend particular institutions and periods." Edmund Burke, for instance, was an exponent of Christianity and the Great Tradition of philosophy, not of some abstraction like "medievalism." To defend "aristocracy" was not to be outdated or medieval either. After all, Adams, Jefferson, and Barry Goldwater believed in a natural aristocracy; were they therefore "medievalists"? Frank Meyer contended that Auerbach did not recognize that "the Christian understanding of the nature and destiny of man, which is the foundation of Western civilization, is always and everywhere what conservatives strive to conserve." In short, in one way or another, these conservatives were proposing an "autonomous" definition of conservatism that was relevant to the ages and not to a single era.

Metaphysical Whig

Friedrich A. Hayek

However vigorously the *National Review* conservatives rebutted Auerbach, it was increasingly obvious in the late 1950's and early 1960's that the movement desperately needed to discover unity and clarity. Conservatives lacked a "recognized intellectual general staff," William Henry Chamberlin lamented. "The conservative movement in America has got to put its theoretical house in order," William F. Buckley, Jr. observed as he noted "the failure of the conservative demonstration." A European contributor to *National Review*, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, felt obliged to conclude in 1962 that the movement still lacked a "precise vision, a concrete program, a blueprint, a coherent 'ideology.'" There was too much "contrived vagueness," too much "emphasis on negations." Still another conservative commented that "conservatives today are as hopelessly divided by divergent principles, discordant faiths, and conflicting interests as were the British colonists whose united efforts created the United States." It was indeed a "crucial period" for the emerging conservative counter-reformation.

And so, insistently, the question recurred: What *was* conservatism? What held the movement together? Russell Kirk, for one, doubted that anything simple and positive did:

> No simple formula can join inseparably the Northerners and the Southerners, the rural interest and the urban interest, the religious conservatives and the utilitarian old-fangled liberals, the anti-Soviet people and the isolationists—not to mention the anti-fluoridationists, the "philosophical anarchists," and the protectionists. All that can reasonably be hoped for, so far as the immediate future is concerned, is a series of leagues and coalitions of anti-collectivist elements against the collectivist tendency of the times.

Yet even Kirk hoped that "conservative unity of a higher order" might eventually evolve. In the first years of *National Review* many conservative intellectuals were anxious to help the process along.

★ II *Edmund Burke Restored*

Against this background of confusion and disputation there developed in the late 1950's and early 1960's a revival of conservative-oriented political philosophy—a trend which tended to deepen the perspectives of the already somewhat quarrelsome factions within the right-wing camp. Although not always directly related to the need for order and synthesis felt by so many conservatives, much of this scholarship was pertinent to their effort to achieve an identity. This was particularly the case with the increasing scholarship on Edmund Burke.

Stimulated in part by the release of a collection of Burke's correspondence in 1949 and in part by the growing relevance of his ideas to the postwar world, studies and sympathetic invocations of Burke proliferated in the 1950's. Russell Kirk's own book *The Conservative Mind* was the most notable of the genre. By 1959 interest in Burke was so great that a quarterly *Burke Newsletter* was established under the auspices of *Modern Age*. But not everyone was enthusiastic about the tendency of some conservatives—notably Kirk—to idolize the British statesman. In *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, for example, Richard Weaver denied that Burke was an adequate spokesman for the right-wing revival. Burke's difficulty, said Weaver, was that he argued from circumstance and expediency, not from definition and high principle. And expediency—the politics of Whiggery—was thoroughly insufficient.

> It is, to make the estimate candid, a politics without vision and consequently without the capacity to survive. . . . [A] party which bases itself upon circumstance cannot outlast that circumstance very long. . . . For the rhetorical appeal on which it will stake its life, a cause must have some primary source of argument which will not be embarrassed by abstractions or even by absolutes. . . . Burke was magnificent at embellishment, but of clear rational principle he had a mortal distrust.

Precisely so, echoed Frank Meyer in his 1955 attack on Kirk. Burke was simply not a reliable teacher of a "firm political position."

The interpretation of Burke which Weaver and Meyer expressed had a long and distinguished history. Beginning with the work of Henry Buckle and John Morley in the nineteenth century, Burke had been widely portrayed as an empiricist, a utilitarian, a defender of immemorial tradition and “prejudice,” and a resolute foe of all “metaphysics” and of the application of inquisitive reason to politics. It was small wonder, then, that conservatives like Meyer and Weaver—anxious to find a *principled* political philosophy—distrusted a man who allegedly hated potentially explosive “abstractions.”

Faced with this challenge to their beloved Burke, some traditionalist conservatives began to develop a new perspective on their hero that might silence his critics. The most notable example of this impulse was Peter J. Stanlis' *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law.* Stanlis—then a professor at the University of Detroit, and a good friend of Russell Kirk's—zealously defended Burke, not as the proponent of mindless prescription and “social utility” but as “one of the most eloquent and profound defenders of Natural Law morality and politics in Western civilization.” Relying heavily on the “ancients-moderns” distinction of Leo Strauss in *Natural Right and History*, Stanlis located Burke in the tradition of Aristotle, Cicero, Aquinas, and Thomas Hooker—the tradition, in other words, of “natural law” rather than “natural rights” à la Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. Burke, in fact, “regarded the Natural Law as a divinely ordained imperative ethical norm which, without consulting man, fixed forever his moral duties in civil society.” Burke was a Christian humanist rooted in the best aspects of our culture. He was not a shifty, relativistic defender of the status quo merely because it had existed for generations.

The attractiveness of this view of Burke for many traditionalist conservatives was immense. Here was proof, Russell Kirk triumphantly declared in his foreword to Stanlis' book, that Burke was not a Benthamite or an opponent of the “true rights of men.” Here was the demonstration, one could almost hear the Burkeans saying, that Burke was relevant to postwar America. For them Stanlis had solved the problem of tradition and reason. He had shown Burke to be a defender not only of peculiar interests but, above all, of a body of *principles*, a tradition of thought that transcended the “epiphenomena” of eighteenth-century England. Burke was not opposed to theory but only to “‘bad theory’—theory that is doctrinaire, speculative, abstract, and without adequate reference and relevance to political practice.” One could, in other words, be both a traditionalist and a rational man. Edmund Burke was a conservative sage after all.

★ ▌▌ *The Great Tradition*

Stanlis' study signified more than an effort to rescue Burke from contemporary misunderstanding. It reflected as well the continuing conservative search for truth in the pre-modern past—a development powerfully assisted by the work of Leo Strauss and his disciples. In such works as *Thoughts on Machiavelli* and *What Is Political Philosophy?* Strauss continued to indict the “moderns” and defend the worth of classical political philosophy against positivist and historicist onslaughts. To Strauss the truly evil genius and prophet of modernity was Machiavelli, who launched a subtle, massive assault on ancient and Christian teachings. To the ancients, “the goal of political life is virtue,” not freedom, and political philosophy is “guided by the question of the best regime.” The audacious and immoral philosophy of Machiavelli, however, “takes its bearings by how men live as distinguished from how they ought to live. . . . Its symbol is the Beast Man as opposed to the God Man: it understands man in the light of the sub-human rather than of the super-human.” While the ancients emphasized the fixed nature of man, Machiavelli and the moderns asserted the malleability of man and the importance of “institutions” rather than the “formation of character” to control him. While the ancients exalted the life of the seeker of wisdom (the philosopher) and judged regimes in the light of this transcendent good, Machiavelli and his followers lowered their sights and transmogrified philosophy into an instrument “to relieve man's estate or to increase man's power or to guide man toward the rational society.” Conservatives did not always find it easy to apply Strauss's teachings to the present, but they did recognize in his prodigious scholarship an intellectual *tour de force.* For Strauss was meticulously revealing and critically analyzing the fundamental assumptions of modernity in contrast to the sober, moderate, and *still*-relevant wisdom of the ancients. And for those who tended to equate modernity with liberalism, Strauss's formidable critiques were welcome indeed.

★ ▌▌ *The History of Order*

To many conservatives, then, natural law and other classical teachings were a weapon that could be used against the modern tendency, inaugurated by Machiavelli and Hobbes, to equate right with will and justice with power. It was an assertion of unbending absolutes against the disintegrative ethical relativism of the liberals. It was also a way of affirming a tradition—the Great Tradition—against libertarians who accused traditionalists of being so bemused by history that they did not *stand* for anything.

By the early 1960's the interest in natural law which Stanlis' book exemplified had achieved considerable proportions in the conservative camp. While the scholarly response to Stanlis was decidedly mixed, many conservatives felt that the tide was turning at last. After decades of positivist-relativist dominance, wrote the conservative sociologist Will Herberg in 1962, “The reality of something higher than positive law is again becoming recognized in American ethical and legal thought.” In fact, here was a distinction of importance:

> Conservatives, true to the classical tradition of our culture, whether Hebrew or Greek, of course affirm the doctrine of the higher law as the very cornerstone of their moral, social, and political philosophy. Liberals, especially in the past century and the earlier part of this, have frequently rejected this doctrine in favor of some form of legal positivism, cultural relativism, and moral pragmatism. . . .

But it was a *conservative* version of natural law that was being propounded. Or, to state the point more accurately, it was natural *law*—an objective moral norm—not subjective natural “rights,” that some conservatives now cherished. In many ways, this was a useful conception. To plead the prosaic lessons of history and prudence against the sweeping and alluring liberal doctrine of the “rights of man” was to be at a rhetorical disadvantage, as Richard

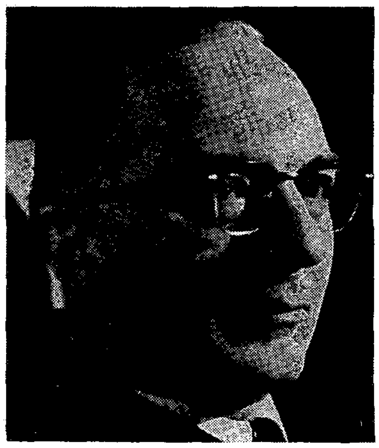
Weaver had percipiently warned. But to take one's stand for the sweeping, universalistic natural *law* was to enter the debate on more equal rhetorical terms. Moreover, by combining Burke—long the symbol of the appeal to history and expediency—with natural law theory, conservatives were in effect attempting to bridge the gulf between their libertarian and traditionalist wings.

Meanwhile many traditionalists were examining with enthusiasm a new and grand venture in the philosophy of history by Eric Voegelin. Already known for his influential concept of gnosticism, the German émigré scholar published in 1956 and 1957 the first three volumes of *Order and History*, an attempt to derive the "order of history" from "the history of order." According to Voegelin, "Existence is partnership in the community of being," a community or hierarchy which includes an invisible world—transcendent divine being. Voegelin proposed to examine the history of men's efforts, by "symbolization" in religion, philosophy, and literature, to render intelligible the "order of being" in which they "participated." The history of this symbolization revealed a progression (which he traced in the civilizations of the ancient Near East, Israel, and Greece) from "compact" to "differentiated" experiences and symbols. In fact, twice in the history of mankind there had occurred an extraordinary "leap in being," "that epochal event that breaks the compactness of the early cosmological myth and establishes the order of man in his immediacy under God." These occasions were Israel's experience of Revelation and Greece's discovery of Philosophy. To Voegelin, the "struggle for order"—by which he meant the metaphysical order of being—was "the very substance of history," and this struggle he now proposed to trace. It was a gigantic task—one, moreover, that could only be undertaken now, in the 1950's. For only now had the scholarly sources and tools become adequate to the task, and only now had "the ideological mortgages on the work of science" vanished. Voegelin listed the "forces of the gnostic age": ". . . the varieties of nationalism, of progressivist and positivist, of liberal and socialist, of Marxian and Freudian ideologies, the neo-Kantian methodologies in imitation of the natural sciences, scientistic ideologies such as biologism and psychologism, the Victorian fashion of agnosticism and the more recent fashions of existentialism and theologism . . ."

Voegelin's massive and learned volumes quickly won recognition among conservative intellectuals. *Modern Age* devoted a special symposium to his work. Frederick Wilhelmsen called it "the most ambitious rival to the work of Spengler and Toynbee," while Gerhart Niemeyer cited Voegelin as one who had "begun to counterattack the intellectual decay of the West." What did conservatives find of value in the often abstruse subject matter and technical vocabulary of this scholar? For one thing, they believed that Voegelin had decisively contributed to a methodological stretching of the scope of political science. As Peter Stanlis commented, Voegelin's work was an "indispensable" antidote to "all modern gnostic movements which are blind to the religious order in history." Voegelin was an unabashed theist; he spoke of God, the soul, being, and revelation. Moreover, he emphasized the historic conservative concern for order—at the interlocking levels of being, society, and the soul. Above all, he presented a new interpretation of man's collective existence in terms of "attunement" to the order of being, and he spoke of the crises that occurred when men spurned that order and instead pursued "gnostic" alternatives that scorned "the finite conditions of human life." It was an arresting synthesis that appealed to many religious conservatives struggling to comprehend the disorder of the West.

In a sense the natural law conservatives and the Voegelinians (usually the same people) were groping for what Frank Meyer later called "an objective moral order based on ontological foundations," an order above the flux of history. That every society must be grounded in such an order, that every society does and ought to adhere to fundamental truths—an orthodoxy—was the persistent theme of the political scientist Willmoore Kendall during these years. In article after article and in *The Conservative Affirmation* (1963) Kendall criticized the liberal notion of an open society. According to the Great Tradition of political philosophy, Kendall argued, "any viable society has an orthodoxy —a set of fundamental beliefs, implicit in its way of life, that it cannot and should not and, in any case, will not submit to the vicissitudes of the market place." The conservative believed, as did the Great Tradition, that "no society can survive—or should survive—without foundations driven deep in religious belief." America must not become a society so open that you have the "unlimited right to think and say what you please, with impunity and without let or hindrance . . ." Kendall was particularly critical of John Stuart Mill, whom he portrayed as a skeptic and relativist who did not really believe that truth was ultimately attainable at all. In fact, Mill's freedom of speech was "inseparable from . . . [his] assault on truth," and Mill was "in full rebellion" against religion, philosophy, and traditional society. In the end, Mill's ideal open society would actually become utterly intolerant. Adhering in effect to "a national religion of skepticism," it would have no unyielding scruples about persecuting *its* dissenters. After all, if everyone's opinions are equal in value, they might be equally value-less, so why worry if unpopular ones were suppressed?

Historian of order



Eric Voegelin

> In order to practice tolerance on behalf of the pursuit of truth, you have first to value and believe in not merely the pursuit of truth *but truth itself, with all its accumulated riches to date. The all-questions-are-open-questions society cannot do that; it cannot, therefore, practice tolerance towards those who disagree with it.*

Even if such a society did not persecute, it would "descend ineluctably into ever-deepening *differences* of opinion, into progressive breakdown of those common premises upon which alone a society can conduct its affairs by discussion, and so into the abandonment of the discussion process and the arbitrament of public questions by violence and civil war." Kendall insisted that he was not seeking a totally closed society. But he wanted to establish above all that the open society concept then being proposed as America's public truth or self-interpretation was historically, logically, and philosophically untenable.

★ Freedom through Law

While Kendall and other traditionalists (frequently Roman Catholic, like Kendall himself, who was a convert) were striving to find absolutes on which to rely in a relativistic and secular society, libertarians were also at work on the task of constructing a more coherent philosophy. The most outstanding effort of this wing of the Right was Friedrich Hayek's *summa*, *The Constitution of Liberty*, an erudite case for strictly limited government, a free market, the impersonal Rule of Law, and social development by spontaneous growth rather than conscious planning and coercion. In making his plea for a free society, Hayek did not, like many conservatives, cite universal and immutable truths. Instead, drawing heavily on the British skeptical empiricist tradition of David Hume, Adam Ferguson, and Adam Smith, Hayek based his case on the ineluctable fact of ignorance: ". . . no human mind can comprehend all the knowledge which guides the actions of society. . . . [Therefore there is] need for an impersonal mechanism, not dependent on individual human judgments, which will co-ordinate the individual efforts." The more civilized we are, said Hayek, the *less* we are capable of managing the fantastically complex social organism. Consequently, "the case for individual freedom rests chiefly on the recognition of the inevitable ignorance of all of us concerning a great many of the factors on which the achievement of our ends and welfare depends." Society would be better off if we were free. Hayek was no anarchist. On the contrary, he sanctioned a surprising amount of government intervention to provide, for example, a minimum level of protection against suffering and disasters beyond individual control. But he insisted that all such activities be guided by "general abstract rules equally applicable to all." Hayek's enemies were coercion, arbitrariness, discrimination, and the omnivorous administrative discretionary state that tried to *design* progress rather than allow societies to grow under the impersonal Rule of Law.

Although there was much in Hayek's book that all conservatives could approve (especially his critique of the welfare state), neither it nor any of the other efforts discussed so far commanded universal approbation in the early 1960's. While the increasing sophistication of both libertarian and traditionalist conservative scholars was a mark of maturity, no synthesis of clashing perspectives was discernible. Had a revised Edmund Burke been put forward as a generally acceptable source of conservative wisdom? Stephen Tonsor, a young historian at the University of Michigan, writing in *National Review*, emphatically rejected this approach. Burke was not a proper ancestor of the New Conservatism. In fact, Burke's heritage was "contradictory." There were *two* Burkes: the conservative-reactionary "who saw liberty as a danger, . . . who feared moral abstractions, . . . who considered the state a providential entity," and the conservative-liberal whose heir was William Gladstone.

Was Eric Voegelin's work, then, to be the rallying point? While many conservatives discussed his books and occasionally quoted his phrases, there was little evidence that he was dazzling the entire movement into discipleship. Furthermore, the naturalistically inclined supporters of Leo Strauss were critical of Voegelin's religious categories and his assumption of the intervention of God in history. Religious faith, implied the Straussians, was an unacceptable point of departure for philosophers—a contention which troubled some theistic conservatives. Nor was the argumentative Kendall a source of unity. His critique of John Stuart Mill and the open, freedom-centered society was hardly likely, for instance, to appease Frank Meyer, whom he even called on one occasion "a great though lovable sinner."

Friedrich Hayek's magisterial *Constitution of Liberty* did not escape criticism, either. To some he appeared to be altogether too oblivious to principles beyond the world of economics. The Austrian conservative Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn claimed that Hayek seemed to be arguing that "if freedom were not pragmatically productive, there would be no *reason* for freedom." Frank Meyer was similarly troubled. He did not think Hayek should have defended freedom on utilitarian grounds but on "the nature of men and the very constitution of being." Hayek, as an "Old Whig," suffered, said Meyer, from the weakness of Whiggery: "its fear of acknowledging the absolute transcendent values upon which its strength is founded." As if to complicate matters further, Hayek had concluded his volume with a forceful rejection of conservatism!

★ Individual Liberty

Despite the valuable and learned efforts, then, which conservative intellectuals made in the late 1950's and early 1960's to define a satisfactory philosophical posture, they had obviously not succeeded. Not all these books, of course, were expressly intended to serve such a specific purpose. But explicitly or implicitly, they were contributions to the search for intellectual order. Yet for every thesis propounded, there continued to be vocal dissenters. Even as sober scholarly research went on, the quest for unity was leading to further polemics.

In the early 1960's the already simmering pot boiled over. On one side were the traditionalists: defenders of order, consensus, morality, "right reason," religion, truth, virtue. On the other stood the libertarians, "classical liberals," and "Old Whigs," whose "god terms" (to borrow a phrase from Richard Weaver) were individual liberty, free enterprise, laissez-faire, private property, reason, and yet again individual liberty.

The initiators of the exchanges were frequently aggressive libertarian "individualists," often young. Some of the sharpest denunciations of the traditionalists appeared in the *New Individualist Review*, founded in 1961 by graduate students of Friedrich Hayek at the University of Chicago. In one such article James M. O'Connell, a doctoral candidate at the University of Wisconsin, contended that Russell Kirk and the New Conservatism were utterly alien to libertarianism. Kirk scorned reason, or what he called "defecated rationality." Yet, O'Connell claimed, tradition was valid only if it conformed to "those principles, discoverable by reason, which regulate human action." Furthermore, Kirk and the New Conservatives were overtly hostile to individualism and laissez-faire and did not truly favor freedom. On the contrary, they sought an "aristocratic elite" and "a collectivism of the Right to save us from both the 'inhumanity' of capitalism, with its 'rootless individualism,' and the collectivism of the Left."

Even William F. Buckley's *National Review* came under fire. According to Ronald Hamowy, a student of Hayek's and an associate editor of the *New Individualist Review*, Buckley was betraying the libertarian tradition of Garet Garrett, Albert Jay Nock, and Frank Chodorov; it was seeking not to "limit" the state but to "control" it. *National Review* was guilty of an anti-libertarian, bellicose foreign policy in the name of anti-Communism. It was willing to squelch civil liberties at home and engage in racist imperialism abroad in violation of the universal natural rights philosophy of the Declaration of Independence. It tended to be arrogant about its Christianity and willing to merge church and state. It exalted the community over the individual and could muster only "lukewarm" support for a free economy.

Clearly, then, a critical moment in the history of the postwar Right had arrived. At issue was nothing less than the intellectual legitimacy of the coalition that had developed in the mid-1950's—a coalition symbolized and promoted by *National Review*. Did libertarians and traditionalists really have any business associating with one another? Did devout Catholics and secular (or religiously indifferent) economists, men who despised John Stuart Mill and men who praised him, lovers of tradition who criticized militant individualism and men who championed dynamic laissez-faire, Kirk and Meyer, Kendall and Rothbard, Stanlis and Tonsor, Voegelin and Hayek, Wilhelmsen and Chodorov—did such disparate intellectuals have *anything* substantial in common?

★ II Frank Meyer, Fusionist

In the early 1960's one man more than any other was convinced that they did, that beneath the factional differences lay a genuine consensus of principle and aspiration. This man, of all people, was Frank Meyer—the ever-vigilant Frank Meyer, the very individual who had done so much to illuminate the chasm a few years earlier. Now, in a book and several articles, he attempted energetically to close the fissure that threatened to sunder the conservative movement.

It was not that Meyer was suddenly abandoning his old views; he continued to live as well as preach his individualist philosophy. Residing in a secluded mountain home in Woodstock, New York, he became famous for his crackling, uncompromising creed—often expounded over the telephone long after midnight to conservatives all over the land. So heavily did this intense, cheerfully argumentative, chess-playing, zip-code-hating metaphysician of the Right communicate by telephone that Willmoore Kendall once quipped that an "emergency call" from Meyer to his friend Brent Bozell could be defined as "one which interrupts the *regular* call from Frank Meyer to Brent Bozell." In defiance of the compulsory school attendance laws, he was successfully educating his two sons, year after year, at home. When it came to matters of principle, Meyer would not yield an inch.

The pursuit of virtue

L. Brent Bozell

What were the principles that constituted his attempted synthesis? Absolutely fundamental, he argued, was "the freedom of the person"—"the central and primary end of political society," "the decisive concern of political action and political theory." To Meyer, man was a "rational, volitional, autonomous individual"; freedom was "of the essence of his being"—indispensable, in fact, to his pursuit of virtue. Political order was to be judged according to its contribution to individual freedom. Moreover, the political sphere was sharply limited. The state had but three limited functions: national defense, preservation of domestic order, and the administration of justice between man and man. From this perspective Meyer proceeded to demolish the claims of those—collectivist liberals *and* New Conservatives—who disparaged the individual and his reason in the name of the state or "community" or society. There was no such independent entity as society, Meyer contended. Society was a "myth"; the individual was supreme. "Society and the state were made for individual men, not men for them." From Plato and the ancient Athenians to twentieth-century liberals, too many people had hypostatized the state. Even some New Conservatives were willing to utilize the state to impose their ideas of virtue upon the citizenry. To Meyer this was utterly wrong. The "achievement of virtue" was not a *political* question at all; it was none of the state's business. Freedom—uncoerced choice—was the absolutely indispensable condition of the pursuit of virtue. "Unless men are free to be vicious they cannot be virtuous. No community can make them virtuous." Freedom was the ultimate *political* end; virtue was the ultimate end of man as man. The New Conservatives, unfortunately, could not grasp this distinction: "By their insistence on the use of political power for the inculcation of virtue, by their refusal to take a principled position in defense of a state limited to establishing the conditions of freedom, they disqualify themselves as effective opponents of liberal collectivism." Frank Meyer had devoted fourteen years of his life to the Communist Party. Recoiling from Big Brother, he was not about to let conservatives try to impose on men *their* version of the good society. Men should be left alone to work out their own salvation.

Yet while Meyer continued to level a barrage against certain New Conservatives, he was also striving to articulate the common ground which he believed American conservatives actually shared. Time and again he insisted that his conservatism was not mere "nineteenth-century liberalism," which he admitted had been weakened by utilitarianism and excessively anti-traditional skepticism and secularism. According to Meyer, the American conservative movement was the victim of a tragic "bifurcation" of the Western tradition in the nineteenth century. On one side were the authoritarian conservatives, rightly concerned for virtue and order but wrongly willing to use government to achieve their ends. They confused the moral and political realms. On the other side were the classical liberals, commendably devoted to the limited state, the autonomous individual, and the free economy. But *they* were increasingly indifferent to the "organic moral order" and unable "to distinguish between the *authoritarianism* with which men and institutions suppress the freedom of men, and the *authority* of God and truth." If Meyer was tenaciously critical of extreme traditionalism, he was fully aware of the traditionalist thesis that liberalism had grown relativistic, unsure of moral principles, parasitic, and ultimately acquiescent in the rise of vacuum-filling totalitarian ideologies.

He therefore took his stand for freedom as required not by utility but by "the constitution of being." He too had been reading Voegelin. Meyer was no religious skeptic or scoffer at all tradition. He contended that "the Christian understanding of the nature and destiny of man" was what conservatives were trying to save. He insisted that conservatives must absorb the best of *both* branches of the divided conservative mainstream. This was the true heritage of the West—"reason operating within tradition." While Meyer's position soon became known as "fusionism," he was not happy with the label, for he believed that he was only articulating an instinctive, already existing conservative consensus—the consensus forged so brilliantly by the Founding Fathers in 1787.

To demonstrate that his "fusionist" synthesis was not the product of his imagination, Meyer edited an entire anthology, *What Is Conservatism?*, published in 1964; to it both sides contributed. Kirk and Kendall defended their brands of traditionalism; M. Stanton Evans (a disciple of Meyer's "fusionism") and Wilhelm Röpke defended libertarianism, while Hayek contributed his famous "Why I Am Not a Conservative." Other conservatives—including Buckley, Stanley Parry, Stephen Tonsor, Garry Wills, John Chamberlain, and Stefan Possony—sought in various ways to transcend or synthesize the theoretical divergence. In an optimistic conclusion, Meyer claimed to discern a true consensus amidst the undeniable variations of "emphasis" that pervaded the book. Despite differences, even "eccentric" differences here and there, the conservative intellectuals he assembled agreed, said Meyer, on several fundamentals. First, they all believed in "an objective moral order" of "immutable standards by which human conduct should be judged." Secondly, whether they emphasized human rights and freedoms or duties and responsibilities, they unanimously valued "the human person" and opposed liberal attempts to use the state "to enforce ideological patterns on human beings." While they disagreed about the extent to which the state should be circumscribed, they all thought that it *should* be circumscribed. They were deeply suspicious of "planning" and attempts to centralize power. They joined in defense of the Constitution "as originally conceived" and shared an aversion to the "messianic" Communist threat to "Western civilization." For Meyer the book abundantly demonstrated the intellectual cohesiveness of the resurgent conservative movement.

★ II *Liberty or Virtue?*

The early responses of other right-wing intellectuals to Meyer's efforts, however, suggested otherwise. In the introduction to *The Conservative Affirmation*, for example, Willmoore Kendall suggested that Meyer was a doctrinaire—a charge echoed by Russell Kirk in a blistering review of *In Defense of Freedom* in 1964. Kirk excoriated Meyer for being "filled with detestation of all champions of authority," for striving to turn conservatism into an ideology, for seeking "to supplant Marx by Meyer," for deification of abstract liberty, and for arrogant zealotry. Less harsh but also critical was the Duke University professor John Hallowell, another of Meyer's New Conservative targets. "For all his avowed concern for the absolute value of human individuals," Hallowell charged, "he is singularly unconcerned about the problems of persons." Even Richard Weaver, to whom Meyer later dedicated *What Is Conservatism?*, thought that *In Defense of Freedom* went too far. In his sweeping attacks on those New Conservatives who espoused the value of community, Meyer had taken "a long step in the direction of Thoreau's anarchic individualism. . . ." And Felix Morley, reviewing Meyer's anthology, concluded that despite Meyer's "valiant effort," a theoretical consensus had simply not been attained. The conservative edifice remained rickety.

The most extensive scrutiny of Meyer's position came from the very traditionalist Catholic conservative L. Brent Bozell, brother-in-law of Buckley. In an incisive essay Bozell contended that the libertarians and so-called "fusionists" put altogether too much stress on free choice as a condition of the pursuit of virtue; men *always* have moral freedom to seek salvation, regardless of external circumstances. Hence the libertarian claim that society should constantly maximize freedom in order to encourage virtue was fallacious. In fact, the logic of such a program would result in the destruction not only of state coercion (a presumed enemy of virtue) but of all other institutions that impinge on the freest possible choice. "In short, libertarianism's first command—maximize freedom—applies with equal vigor to all of society's activities; and the meaning of the command, in effect, is this: *virtue must be made* [*as*] *difficult as possible*." Such was not, Bozell insisted, the *Christian* understanding of politics. For God's purposes included the attempt "to establish temporal conditions conducive to human virtue—that is, to build a Christian *civilization*." And that included public attempts to "ease the way to virtue." The purpose of politics, in other words, was the promotion not of freedom but of virtue.

What, after all, *was* virtue? If, as Bozell argued, it meant conformity with man's nature and "the divine patterns of order," then freedom was simply not necessary to virtue *per se*. An act could be virtuous even if it were instinctive or coerced. The quest was less important than the achievement. To Bozell, freedom, defined as "the urge to be free from God," was *not* the highest value. Ideally, we should strive to limit it, for "true sanctity is achieved only when man loses his freedom—when he is freed of the temptation to displease God."

In building a virtuous Christian commonwealth, how far should the state venture? To Bozell this was a question of prudence; each case must be analyzed separately. It was decidedly not a question to be answered by "ritualistic libertarianism" and Meyer's concept of the trinitarian state. While Bozell professed high regard for the free market, he did not hold it to be the highest good. Relentlessly, he hammered his points home: "The chief purpose of politics is to aid the quest for virtue." The state is one of many institutions appropriate to this end. "Political (and economic) freedoms" are means which "the prudent commonwealth will adopt in such measure as they are conducive to the virtue of its citizens." Bozell had no desire to defend the nineteenth century, which had, he asserted, inevitably produced the ghastly twentieth. Nor was he going to join in paeans to the free society. "The story of how the free society has come to take priority over the good society is the story of the decline of the West."

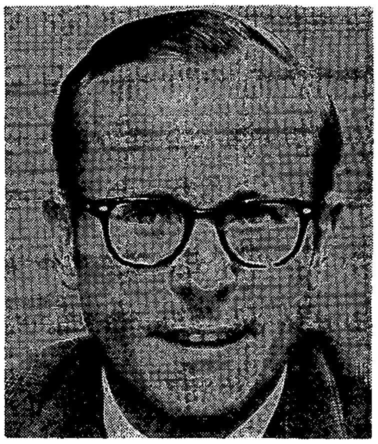
★ II *Fusionism under Fire*

An indirect but even more total challenge to Meyer's "fusionist" efforts came from another Roman Catholic, Stanley Parry, a priest and professor at Notre Dame and a former student of Willmoore Kendall's at Yale. Borrowing heavily from Eric Voegelin, and reminding one at times of Whittaker Chambers, Parry analyzed the character and options of a society which experiences the most fundamental of disorders: the "civilizational crisis" in which "the very structure of the community's experience of truth in history" is threatened, and tradition "falls out of existence." In this ultimate, "meta-political" crisis, no political half-measures can save us. Only a new "communal experience of truth," "an authentic revitalization of divine revelation in the soul of every man," can suffice. But if—as the very appearance of Parry's article suggested—this final crisis had arrived, the challenge to Frank Meyer's work was obvious: *even if* a libertarian-traditionalist synthesis could be thrashed out, it would be irrelevant and superficial. Once a civilizational crisis occurs, Parry stated, it is already too late for man to save himself. And Parry also made it clear that neither "spiritual individualism" nor "economic individualism" was capable of solving the problem of "right social order."

Responding to these challenges, Meyer did not budge from his "fusionist" position. Freedom and virtue *were* interlocked, and Bozell, despite his disavowals, *was* veering dangerously toward authoritarianism and theocracy: he would give some men the power to impose their imperfect version of God's will on their fellow men. Privately Meyer believed that the controversy really reflected a split between Catholic and Protestant Christianity. (At the time, Meyer was a non-denominational Christian. On April 1, 1972, a few hours before he died, he became a Roman Catholic.) Publicly, however, he said only that Bozell was abandoning the "humanist element" in the Western heritage by his contrast between the good and the free societies. Against Bozell, Meyer maintained what he called a "balanced" view of man and his destiny. As for Father Parry, Meyer simply contended that our civilization had not become irrevocably decayed, that the "civilizational crisis" was not upon us, that conservatism was not irrelevant, that the "prophetic response" transcending evil institutions was not yet imperative.

While Meyer was fending off traditionalist criticism, "fusionism" was also receiving fire from the more extreme libertarians. In an essay in *Modern Age* Ronald Hamowy presented once more the complaint already voiced by his teacher Friedrich Hayek. New Conservatism was a "polar opposite" of libertarianism. Conservatism was hostile to freedom, anti-capitalistic, suspicious of reason, and willing (he cited Bozell) to impose a particular set of values on recalcitrant foes. Hamowy paid little attention to Meyer's "middle way," preferring instead to criticize men like Kirk, Bozell, and Kendall. But he did indicate his dissatisfaction with "fusionism": "It is no solution to contend, as does Frank Meyer, that reason must operate *within* tradition when the crucial problem to be answered involves the choice of which tradition to follow."

With this clamor and crossfire disturbing the conservative camp, it is not surprising that John Hallowell, never a member of the *National Review* circle, observed in 1964 that conservatives were "having difficulty agreeing among themselves as to what it is precisely they stand for." It is not surprising that one student of the movement complained of the "cacophony" emanating from it. And yet, rather surprisingly, by the mid-1960's the tumult began to subside. Perhaps, as Meyer remarked, the disputants had run out of fresh things to say. Certainly they had other topics on their mind—the rise of Senator Goldwater, for instance. And as the dust settled, many conservatives began to make a common discovery: that Meyer's "fusionism" had won. Quietly, with little fanfare, by a process he later called "osmosis," "fusionism" became for most *National Review* conservatives a *fait accompli*. Significantly, Meyer's arch-rival (but close friend), Brent Bozell, later agreed that "fusionism" did become the *de facto* consensus. Looking back on the early 1960's, William Rusher, publisher of *National Review* and a self-designated "devout fusionist," called attention to Meyer's "strategic integration" of right-wing thought. Peter Witonski, a young conservative scholar, likewise commented several years later that Meyer was "the



"Devout fusionist"

William A. Rusher

first conservative theorist thoroughly to comprehend the uniqueness of American conservatism, and to explain this uniqueness to the conservative rank and file." Naturally "fusionism" continued to have its critics, but it was an indication of Meyer's influence that they, not he, remained on the periphery or even left the movement. It was Meyer who would write *The Conservative Mainstream* in 1968—not Hamowy, not Bozell.

If "fusionism" had indeed triumphed, it is important to recognize precisely what this development meant. The success of Meyer's formulation involved not so much the acceptance of a dogma or system as the ascendancy of a particular way of thinking and acting. Three factors account for its emergence. First, many conservatives adopted "fusionism" because, one suspects, they *wanted* to. They *wanted* to believe that they had found a base in principle. At any rate, after some fierce polemics, Meyer's synthesis was in effect accepted. If "fusionism" implied practical collaboration with others whose angles of wisdom did not coincide with one's own, most conservatives were clearly "fusionists" by the mid-1960's and even before.

Secondly, "fusionism"-as-theoretical-harmony was immensely assisted by the cement of anti-Communism throughout the years of self-definition. It is extraordinarily noteworthy that anti-Communism, one of the three principal tributaries of the postwar conservative mainstream, was not a significant source of tension in most of these polemics at all. Instead, nearly all conservatives were bound together by consciousness of a common mortal enemy. Back in 1949 the "neo-liberal" German economist Wilhelm Röpke had predicted the emergence of a kind of fusion:

> . . . the essential thing to understand is that we are now engaged in the final battle between collectivism (totalitarianism) and the forces which fight for the freedom and the dignity of man; in this combat it will become ever more difficult to separate the heritage of Christian social doctrine from all that is essential and lasting in liberalism.

Many conservatives believed that this fusion had occurred. Their sense of combat ("the final struggle"), of a common foe, helped to keep them together.

Finally, when conservatives turned away from rarefied theoretical disputes about theology or historical genealogy (What think ye of Burke? of Mill?) and considered the day-to-day conservatism they felt "in their hips" (a phrase of Kendall's), they often found that it was not so difficult to identify what they stood for after all. Few conservatives would have objected to Meyer's list of conservative principles, which he compiled at the end of *What Is Conservatism?* Few would have disagreed with William Henry Chamberlin's brief definition: "Conservatism at all times and in all countries has stood for religion, patriotism, the integrity of the family, and respect for private property as the four pillars of a sound and healthy society."

Definitions like these did not, of course, solve the problems of "emphasis" which divided many conservatives. But neither were they mere effusions of meaningless rhetoric. Moreover, Meyer and other conservatives never tired of stressing that conservatism was not an ideology, complete with sacred texts or a Fourteen Points. It was part of the wisdom and genius of conservatism that it did not try to encapsulate all its beliefs in a handbook of doctrines. Thus whatever the historical or theoretical incongruity of the conservative alliance, at the level of practical belief it seemed quite natural and sensible to most right-wing intellectuals. What was so strange about simultaneously opposing centralized government, supporting a non-socialist economy, and adhering to traditional morality?

Thus, fusion as many conservatives perceived it was not simply a formalistic contrivance of Meyer's; it was the recognition that conservatism was "a house of many mansions" and that ecumenism was the truly logical as well as prudent solution. By the mid-1960's evidence of what William F. Buckley, Jr. called "symbiosis" was increasingly at hand. There was the work of Wilhelm Röpke, Germany's "neo-liberal" economist and a favorite with Russell Kirk and *Modern Age.* Although a firm champion of the free market and a trenchant critic of Keynes and all statism, Röpke did not find his "liberalism" (old-style) inconsistent with Christianity. At least as early as 1947 he was convinced of the deep and necessary connection between true liberalism and Christianity.

> It was Christianism [*sic*] alone which accomplished the revolutionary deed of delivering people as children of God from the stranglehold of the state. . . . the wall which separates us, as far as the concept of freedom is concerned, from antiquity is Christianity, to which we owe the sentence, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

★ The Humane Economy

Three years later Röpke's book, *A Humane Economy*, appeared in the United States; it was the very model of "fusionism." Effortlessly Röpke combined an economist's defense of the free market in terms that libertarians could approve with a New Conservative defense of Christian humanism and an assault on "modern mass society." Friedrich Hayek could have written most of the economic analysis; Russell Kirk (whom Röpke often quoted along with Ortega y Gasset and many other traditionalist saints) could have written the social criticism. Time after time Röpke reiterated that the two themes were inseparable: ". . . the market economy is the economic order proper to a definite social structure and to a definite spiritual and moral setting." The market was important, but it was not enough.

> Self-discipline, a sense of justice, honesty, fairness, chivalry, moderation, public spirit, respect for human dignity, firm ethical norms—all of these are things which people must possess before they go to market and compete with each other. These are the indispensable supports which preserve both market and competition from degeneration. Family, church, genuine communities, and tradition are their sources.

Family, church, community, tradition—New Conservative words. Private property, competition, "decentrism," the folly of interventionism—"libertarian" themes. Röpke felt no contradiction between the two. Perhaps Neo-Conservatism and Neo-Liberalism were not so far apart after all; no wonder both libertarians and traditionalists admired him.

In the early and mid-1960's other signs of emerging harmony multiplied. At the first meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society in 1947, for example, not one practicing Roman Catholic had been present. In its early years, Russell

Kirk asserted in 1961, many members of the Society had been guilty of espousing "liberal dogmas" and "rationalistic hostility toward Christianity." Now, Kirk proclaimed, this mood had passed. The new trend was symbolized by its incoming president, Wilhelm Röpke ("the most humane of economists") and by the appearance before it of Otto von Habsburg—an indication, he said, of how "the totalitarian threat produces a meeting of minds among conservative and liberal bodies of opinion." Meanwhile, in 1964 a kind of American equivalent of the Mont Pelerin Society was founded. Meeting nationally in 1965 for the first time, the Philadelphia Society at once became a significant forum for the divergent elements in the conservative camp. At the first convention 125 right-wing intellectuals—from Frank Meyer to Russell Kirk, from Milton Friedman to Brent Bozell—participated in discussion and debate designed to further the Society's purpose: "deepening the moral foundations of a free and ordered society and . . . broadening the understanding of its basic principles and traditions." The very fact that such a society flourished indicated that conservatives believed that a working consensus was attainable and that a common framework of discourse did exist.

Is Burke un-American?

Stephen J. Tonsor

By 1966 M. Stanton Evans, editor of the *Indianapolis News* and a leading "fusionist," was in a mood to celebrate. It was at last "becoming possible to speak of a conservative consensus," he announced. There was even a whole conservative "third force"—including Buckley, Meyer, Tonsor, Weaver, Röpke, Garry Wills, Jeffrey Hart, and William Rickenbacker—that was spearheading the advance. Evans might with justice have singled out William F. Buckley, Jr. for special praise, for more than any other man it was Buckley, as Meyer himself suggested, who personified "fusionism." It was Buckley whose *God and Man at Yale* adumbrated within one book both the libertarian theme of anti-statism and the traditionalist concern for the decline of Christian values. It was Buckley, the ecumenical editor of *National Review*, who provided a forum for both factions to articulate their positions.

Finally, there were even indications that Meyer and Kirk, antagonists of long standing, were mellowing a little. If Meyer seemed intent on excluding Kirk from the conservative fold in his *In Defense of Freedom* (1962), two years later he included Kirk in his anthology *What Is Conservatism?* And if his references to "reason operating within tradition" sometimes seemed contrived, they nevertheless demonstrated a compelling impulse to seek points of agreement. As for Kirk, while he did not cease to differ with Meyer, he too was not inclined to be sectarian. In 1962 he wrote:

> What we have seen during recent years in this country, and somewhat earlier in Britain, is the gradual fusion [*sic!*] of conservatives and old-fangled liberals . . . into a fairly coherent body of opinion.

Increasingly, also, Kirk's writings were marked by appeals not simply to "the wisdom of our ancestors" but to objective *norms* that transcended the vicissitudes of history.

Fusion as an "Ism"

Had the ordeal of self-definition which marked conservative thought from 1955 to 1965 ended, then, in genuine harmony? Was the travail really, legitimately, over? At one level the answer was plainly negative. After a decade of strenuous exploration and argument, conservatives had not constructed a unified philosophy satisfactory to all, and they probably never would. The philosophic gap between traditionalism, with its stress on the restraint of man's will and appetites, and libertarianism, with its zeal for individual freedom and (implicitly) *self*-assertion, remained wide. No amount of verbal juggling could produce theoretical unity out of the positions of a Kirk and a Mises, a Meyer and a Bozell, a Kendall and a Hayek. Even Meyer, with his tactful discussion of "emphases," must have realized that philosophical differences within the conservative community were profound.

And yet, in the end this perspective is inadequate. On one point the conservatives were undeniably right: for all their imposing theoretical vocabulary, they were not trying to build a consistent philosophical system. For all their intense and sometimes rarefied disputes, they were not generally laboring to impose a definitive ideology on their brethren. Conservatism in America in the 1950's and 1960's was not, in its essence, a speculative or theoretical enterprise. It was an intellectual *movement* with definite political implications. It sought not just to understand the world but to preserve, purify, even restore some of it. The crucial question therefore became: Were the terms of cooperation sufficiently clear and consistent on the *intermediate* level of intelligent action to justify an alliance of thoughtful men and women in defense of their civilization and its dearest values? For most conservatives the answer to this question was resolutely affirmative. Their ultimate ideals or their intellectual ancestries might differ, but not their intermediate ends. Time and again, on practical matters—from the production of *National Review* and *Modern Age* to support of specific political leaders and issues—conservatives found themselves able to collaborate with one another. If "fusionism" as an "ism" at times seemed artificial, fusion on a personal level appeared to be succeeding. If less than a single-minded army, the conservative intellectual movement was more than an *ad hoc* coalition.

Let the edges be frayed, then. Let the arguments continue—in the knowledge that if the conservative movement had not attained unity, it had achieved an identity. The awkward and unwieldy coalition had become a partnership.

CHAPTER III. The Majority: Masses or "Virtuous People"?

As if the search for theoretical harmony were not by itself sufficiently perplexing, conservative intellectuals faced another challenging problem in the late 1950's and early 1960's: the relation of their philosophy to the American environment. In the first decade after 1945—the years of initial protest and ferment—articulate conservatives had been relatively unconcerned with the specifically American features of the heritage they wished to defend. Traditionalists or New Conservatives, shocked by totalitarian mass man and mass society, had often looked to Europeans like Burke, Metternich, Ortega y Gasset, and T. S. Eliot for moral and intellectual instruction —a tendency reinforced by the impact of European émigrés on the American conservative renascence. When they did examine the America around them, traditionalists were frequently repelled by its burgeoning "crowd culture." Libertarians, too, felt beleaguered in America and turned to Europeans like Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, and Wilhelm Röpke. They, too, were often burdened with the feeling of being a forlorn Nockian Remnant in a nation following the New Deal/Fair Deal Pied Piper into the darkening world of the Total State. Even some of the former Communists who gave the conservative movement its crusading fervor seemed at first little interested in America as America. Instead, they tended to perceive the United States as a world power, the only logical leader of the worldwide struggle against messianic Communism. From such a perspective, America's domestic problems were much less important than the Third World War.

It is not entirely surprising, therefore, that many left-of-center observers soon insisted, and insisted repeatedly, that the postwar Right was "un-American," peculiarly foreign to the American experience. Undoubtedly, the most influential example of this line of criticism was Louis Hartz's *The Liberal Tradition in America*, published in 1955. According to Hartz, "Lockean" liberalism was virtually the only tradition in America; conservatism, which he equated with feudalism and hierarchy, had never been truly indigenous. After all, we had lacked a feudal social structure and consequently the ideology appropriate to it. In one way or another, a horde of critics elaborated on the same theme. In 1957 Richard Chase argued that a "discontinuity" existed in America between conservative feelings and liberal ideas; our principal literature, while exhibiting conservative sentiments, nevertheless advanced liberal thoughts. In 1962 Elisha Greifer, examining the quest of Henry and Brooks Adams for a "pre-liberal past," concluded that they had not found one. Why? Because it did not exist. There was only one American tradition—the liberal tradition—and conservatism was forever doomed to be an "exotic import." In 1967 Allen Guttmann reaffirmed the Hartzian critique. Equating philosophical conservatism with the thought of Edmund Burke, Guttmann contended that Burke's views were utterly remote from American life. Burke denied the right to construct new governments, criticized notions of equality, praised the ideal of hierarchy, and evinced reverence for the past. In all these respects, said Guttmann, he was not only anti-liberal; he was worlds apart from America. The American Revolution was not a conservative event. The Declaration of Independence, by the very fact that it claimed a right of revolution, was a liberal document, not a conservative one. Once the Loyalists fled, Guttmann argued, the truly conservative (or Burkean, as he defined it) elements of our society were gone forever. From then on conservatism (in his special sense) as a political force was spent. As a purely literary phenomenon, however, it had lived on; its central ideas, such as hierarchy, order, and reverence for an aristocratic past, appealed to the imaginations of many of the greatest American writers.

Whenever conservatives suggested a candidate for an American right-wing Hall of Fame, it seemed that a liberal was ready to deny him admission. Was Edmund Burke himself an appropriate patron saint of such a pantheon? No, said Arnold A. Rogow in the *Antioch Review* in 1957; Burke had little in common with the property-conscious, anti-reformist, "endarkened conservatism" of the Republican Party. In fact, Rogow audaciously claimed, Burke could actually be linked to the liberal tradition of Jefferson, the two Presidents Roosevelt, and Adlai Stevenson. It was this moderate, tolerant, reforming but not radical movement that most genuinely reflected Burkean conservatism. Was John Adams, then, the founder of American conservatism? No, said Allen Guttmann; he was a Lockean who believed in such anti-Burkean notions as the natural rights philosophy and the right of revolution. Moreover, he rejected such "Burkean" ideas as prescription and the defense of monarchy and aristocracy. While Guttmann conceded that Adams had conservative leanings, he was still only a pessimistic liberal, a *philosophe* in spite of himself. Could the Old South be a source of conservative values? No again, said Guttmann. The antebellum South was capitalist in economics, middle-class (not aristocratic) in family structure, and generally Jeffersonian and liberal, not Burkean, in political philosophy.

★ II *Is the Right Un-American?*

Particularly critical of conservative attempts to construct an American genealogy was the historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. His principal target was Russell Kirk, who in *The Conservative Mind* had tried to identify just such an ancestry. To Schlesinger all the "great scurrying about" of the New Conservatives for "roots" had produced only "an odd and often contradictory collection of figures":

> John C. Calhoun, the great theorist of slavery and states' rights, and John Quincy Adams, the ardent apostle of abolition and nationalism; Francis Lieber, the champion of moral obligation, and Brooks Adams, the advocate of realism; Irving Babbitt, the archbishop of the Genteel Tradition, and George Santayana, its urbane and devastating critic. This miscellany can hardly rise to the dignity of a tradition—certainly not to the dignity of a conservative tradition.

It reflected, Schlesinger continued, how "astonishingly indifferent" the New Conservatives were "to the concrete life of the American people."

This liberal critique of conservatism was a plausible and forceful one—sufficiently so, in fact, to find an echo among many intellectuals on the Right. William Schlamm, a German refugee and "father" of *National Review*, contended in 1955 that Russell Kirk was mistaken in his "desperate attempts" to show that the United States had always been conservative:

> The specifically *American* experience of life . . . is indisputably a fierce yen for institutionalized "progress" by utopian legislation and industrial gadgetry. Individual Americans, like Calhoun and Adams, may have known better; the American *species* (to the extent that there really is such a thing) is, of course, populist rather than conservative—and for a very forceful reason: America happens to be the only society in creation built by *conscious* human intent, . . . and developed, by Europeans *tired* of Europe's ancient commitments, and determined, . . . each in his own way, on a "new beginning."

This did not mean, however, that conservatism was irrelevant to the nation's future. It meant only that conservatism would succeed "not because it owns an historic mortgage on America's social real estate" but because of "its moral and aesthetic superiority."

Ralph de Toledano was similarly impressed by the seeming self-contradiction of an "American" conservatism. The fact was that the contemporary Right was mired in "rootlessness and opportunism"; it was "bound more by frustration than by doctrine." It supported politicians like Senators Joseph McCarthy and William Knowland despite their ideological aberrations. It embraced a mythical Southern conservatism when in reality the South supported the New Deal and was infected with racism as well. Surveying American politics, literature, and religion, Toledano detected only a "paucity of conservative thought and action." While a conservative "spirit" was undeniably stirring, he wrote in 1956, the day was far distant when this impulse would become truly "organic." A few years later Toledano expatiated on his theme. While conservative "elements and individuals" had graced the country's past, the present era demanded far more: a radical-conservative reconstruction. "The time was ripe for an American Disraeli," he wrote, and on the horizon he could discern only one such leader: Richard Nixon.

Such interpretations of our past were by no means isolated or passing fancies of a Schlamm or a Toledano in the 1950's. As late as 1972 Stephen Tonsor was struck by the dynamism, innovation, and hostility to Burkean prescription that permeated American culture. One of the strongest themes of our experience, he observed, was the urge to escape history. Indeed, "the notion of 'a fresh start' takes on the proportions of a national purpose."

★ II The American Character

Underlying the general liberal conception of America as unconservative were a number of debatable assumptions. If many conservatives in the early postwar years were noticeably oriented toward Europe, so, too, were their liberal critics. In order to demonstrate how uncongenial the United States was to conservatism, the critics repeatedly assumed that Burkean and Continental conservatism were the only kinds that existed. But was this truly the case? Why equate conservatism with Burke? How useful was it to assert that because America lacked a feudal social structure, it was therefore not "conservative"? Who had demonstrated that conservatism was solely the ideology of a feudal, hierarchical society? Who had proven that it should be equated only with "medieval" institutions? If America was distinctive, perhaps its conservatism (if any) was also distinctive. To say that the American experience was fundamentally non-Burkean did not establish that it was liberal, only that it was non-Burkean. But had even that claim really been proven? What *did* Burke stand for? How many Burkes were there? Was Burkean conservatism primarily a defense of a particular eighteenth-century status quo, now long dead, or was it the exposition of a body of timeless truths about man and society, as many conservatives increasingly argued? How much should conservative impulses and insights be linked to transient institutions? Might not old wine be placed in new bottles? And just how accurate was the ritualistic assertion that America was essentially—*essentially*—a restless, dynamic country? In many respects, she undeniably was; one thinks of her industrial might, extraordinarily mobile population, and social fluidity: Horatio Alger, rags to riches, opportunity for all, free land, "a fresh start." But were these the only or even the most relevant factors? Had America's material and physical explosiveness been matched by political, moral, or religious experimentation of equal magnitude? Was it not true that in certain behavior patterns and even fundamental beliefs, this supposedly liberal, supposedly pragmatic people had not sloughed off its Western heritage after all?

From The Freeman *to* NR

William S. Schlamm

Lurking in the minds of many liberals (and some conservatives), one suspects, was a perception of America made famous long before by the expatriate Henry James in his study of Nathaniel Hawthorne. America was not Europe, James observed; it had:

> No state, in the European sense of the word, and indeed barely a specific national name. No sovereign, no court, no personal loyalty, no aristocracy, no church, no clergy, no army, no diplomatic service, no country gentlemen, no palaces, no castles, nor manors, nor old country-houses, nor parsonages, nor thatched cottages, nor ivied ruins; no cathedrals, nor abbeys, nor little Norman churches; no great Universities, nor public schools—no Oxford, nor Eton, nor Harrow; no literature, no novels, no museums, no pictures, no political society, no sporting class—no Epsom nor Ascot!

James wrote these lines in the 1870's; he might just as well have been scolding Russell Kirk in 1953. But again: was it proper to identify conservative thought with a single kind of society, a peculiar set of institutions that rise and fall and pass away?

America is not Europe: this was the bedrock liberal perception. But what should be done about it? In the mid-1950's, conservatives had as yet no convincing answer. But that it somehow required an answer was—one may fairly conclude—a "given" for many conservatives. This is not to say that conservative intellectuals felt terrorized by Louis Hartz or that they all consciously set about to refute liberal accusations of intellectual illegitimacy. And yet, if the volume of conservatives' output in this area in the 1950's and 1960's indicates anything, it suggests that they felt a need to explain themselves and their tradition, a need to locate a historical basis for a viable American conservatism. The very fact that they did not dismiss the liberal challenge out of hand perhaps conceded something: that the status of conservatism in American life was a problem, the solution to which was not self-evident. If it had been, why would they have bothered to make such an effort?

There was more to this quest than the fact that liberals had made an issue out of conservatism's place in American life. First, as the very word "conservatism" suggests, the person who holds its tenets wishes in some sense to conserve something, which either exists in the present or has existed in the presumably recoverable past. This does not mean that conservatives are never present-minded or future-oriented; everyone is, to some extent. But for the true conservative the past or "tradition," however interpreted, must have a special claim on his attention. The man of the Left—liberal, radical, or revolutionary—can always repudiate tradition *in toto* if he wishes. He may deem it irrelevant, outmoded, or even dangerous. This option is never available to the conservative. He need not be indiscriminate, of course; he may select, accept the good, and reject the bad. But he cannot toss aside *everything* that has happened before him. He need not go as far as William F. Buckley, Jr., who once claimed "that the truly important in human experience is behind us; that the truly crucial battles have been fought. . . ." But he does believe that *something* has been learned, that what Russell Kirk has called "the wisdom of our ancestors" does exist, and that the wise man should not confront the world and the future with an attitude of total skepticism or blithe insouciance. Thus a significant—and predictable—aspect of the conservative intellectual revival was an intensive re-examination of the American past. If they were *conservatives*, what did they wish to conserve?

Standing Athwart History

Another reason for this search for American roots lay in the peculiar circumstances of the entire conservative movement from the 1940's to the late 1960's. Unlike Edmund Burke, who in the 1790's inveighed against revolutionary France in behalf of a rooted political and social order, American conservatives after World War II occupied a deeply anomalous position: they called themselves conservatives, but their role was that of dissenters. Indeed, some right-wing intellectuals—like William F. Buckley, Jr. in his first *National Review* editorial and Frank Meyer on many occasions—perceived their position as more counterrevolutionary than "conservative" (in the narrow sense of preserving the status quo). For conservatism was in the uncomfortable position of opposing a "revolution" already consummated and entrenched. In their desire to stand athwart history, yelling "Stop," conservatives naturally turned to those features of the American past that seemed most opposed to the terrible menaces of the modern age.

However anachronistic conservatives might seem to liberal critics, there was at least one consolation. Conservatives had been a minority long enough to appreciate the wisdom of Paul Claudel's remark, "Truth is not concerned with how many it persuades." The first task was to articulate truth-in-tradition, however battered and abandoned the tradition might appear. In the mid-1950's and later, conservative intellectuals evolved a variety of strategies for coping with the assertion that America was a liberal country and that conservatism did not belong here.

Conservative Responses

One strategy for denying the presumed gap between America and (European) conservatism was to minimize the importance of obvious institutional differences and to assert the existence of a transcendent continuity of *principle* across the Atlantic and across the centuries.

Among the conservatives to whom this approach increasingly appealed was Russell Kirk, the foremost right-wing partisan of Edmund Burke. Kirk had ample reason for adopting this tactic since many conservatives had accused him of an indiscriminate defense of Western traditions, good and bad. John Hallowell, for instance, wrote that Kirk's discussion of slavery (surely an established institution) in the antebellum South was "evasive." Some conservatives, however, were less interested in criticizing Kirk than in contesting head-on the relevance of his mentor. To Stephen Tonsor, a Midwesterner and a professor of European intellectual history at the University of Michigan, Burke could not be the teacher of contemporary American conservatism. He chastised Allen Guttmann's *The Conservative Tradition in America* for equating conservatism with Burke. Burke was *not* the fount of modern American conservatism; in fact the "Burkean heritage" conflicted with it:

> American conservatives are "American." They share the common commitment to democratic institutions, the anti-prescriptive bias of American society. Their commitment is to the rational modification of the social order and to the creation of political institutions which serve all rather than a few or a particular group. Though they commonly look to the state for benefits, they mistrust it and possess little of the Burkean reverence for positive government. American conservatives are non-ideological. They have never developed a system which was totally compelling. . . . It's a wise child that knows its own father, and I suspect that most American conservatives, without benefit of some genealogical study, would not recognize Edmund Burke.

From time to time other conservatives echoed Tonsor's contentions.

That a real continuity of tradition did exist, that America was linked with the fundamental truths of Christianity (even Catholic Christianity), was the argument in 1960 of John Courtney Murray, a distinguished Jesuit scholar. According to Murray, the United States did have an identifiable "public consensus": "the principles that are structural to the Western Christian political tradition." Thus the "American Proposition" *was* reconcilable with ancient and enduring truths. A Catholic (he might have said conservative) could sincerely applaud much of the American order. What were the constituent parts of this remarkable consensus? First, in the Declaration of Independence and elsewhere, Americans affirmed ("we hold these truths") "the sovereignty of God over nations as well as over individual men." Our nation was "under God." Second, the "tradition of natural law and natural rights"—"the central political tradition of the West"—was the solid basis of America's consensus. To Murray, such American beliefs as constitutionalism, limited sovereignty, and the rule of law were not modern innovations at all but "ancient ideas, deeply implanted in the British tradition in medieval times." Medieval times! Surely this was a twist: asserting America's continuity with those "feudal" Middle Ages. Moreover, Murray intrepidly claimed that by establishing "the consent of the governed," "popular participation in rule," and the distinction between state and society, the American Proposition was actually adhering to the Great Tradition. What liberals held to be unconservative was, on Murray's showing, an organic part of a heritage that went back beyond modern times. He was pleased also by America's assumption that "only a virtuous people can be free." In short, at our deepest level of self-understanding, Americans were not cut off, adrift, from the "patrimony" of our civilization.

Murray's book was acclaimed by several conservative intellectuals. Francis Wilson called him "one of the most creative of the Christian intellectuals of our time." To Willmoore Kendall his book was "a major breakthrough in American political *science*," a book which could inform conservatives just what they ought to be conserving. William F. Buckley, Jr. was sufficiently impressed to include a portion of Murray's work in his anthology of twentieth-century conservative thought, *Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?*

★ II *The Southern Exception*

That the South had some transcendent truths to teach was the persistent theme of the most impressive postwar disciple of the Agrarian movement, Richard Weaver, whose defense of his native region long antedated the integration decision of 1954. Converted from socialism in the late 1930's—in part because of the influence of the Vanderbilt Agrarians—Weaver had presented in his doctoral dissertation a vigorous and sympathetic portrait of a traditional society that even now had not completely succumbed to science, aggressive technology, materialism, commercialism, and other evils of egotistic Northern modernism. In the face of this "revolution of nihilism," the South stood properly but confusedly for so much that was old and true. Alas, while it "needed a Burke or a Hegel, it produced lawyers and journalists." Although Weaver did not say so, his career was devoted to filling that gap.

In the years after World War II, this son of North Carolina frequently espoused Southern and explicitly Agrarian values. The South "has been a stumbling block to modernism," he declared. For one thing, he wrote in 1952, the "Southern philosophy" was resistant to corrosive "analysis." The South's distrust of the specialist had helped it remain "humanistic" while other parts of the country followed the false gods of "analysis and science." The South's tradition of rhetoric ("reverence for the word") was an antidote to that "verbal skepticism" which is the beginning of "moral nihilism." In contrast to the Northerner, who was "essentially a child of the Enlightenment," the Southerner piously accepted nature as providential, not as something to be manipulated for selfish ends. Nor was the Southerner motivated by envy and egalitarian desires for somebody else's goods. Finally, while "the typical American" was undeniably the "victorious man," the Southerner was—as Weaver put it—"an anomalous American"; he alone had known defeat and tragedy in his own land. In this respect, as in so many others, the South actually resembled Europe more than the North.

The anomalous American

Richard Weaver

No wonder the liberals hated the South, Weaver wrote on another occasion. More than any other section of the country, the South maintained a "regime," "a system of sustaining forms," "a complex of law, custom, and idiomatic behavior" that acted as a "powerful check against the sense of lostness, the restlessness, and the aimless competition which plague the modern masses and provoke the fantastic social eruptions of our era." Why had the Southern regime survived? Because it had maintained three "strong barriers to anomie": "a structural form of society," "the idea of transcendence," and the "preservation of history." Because, like every regime, it maintained a "principle of exclusion" indispensable to survival. In all these ways the South was an affront to liberalism, which Weaver called "the death-wish of modern civilization":

> In its incapacity for commitment, its nihilistic approach, and its almost pathological fear of settled principle, liberalism operates to destroy everything and conserve nothing. . . . A regime can be generous, kindly, humane, even humanitarian, but it cannot be liberal in the sense of perpetually entertaining the question of whether it ought to continue. . . . [A] regime cannot live exclusively on a diet of self-questioning, to say nothing of self-hate. . . . Liberalism cannot postulate anything positive, because such affirmations will carry with them exclusions, and the only source liberalism can recognize for exclusion is intolerance or "narrow-mindedness."
>
> It follows inevitably that the liberal is exacerbated by the sight of any independent and healthy growth. Such a growth can only remind him of his own hollowness. A regime holds the mirror up to the liberal.

Weaver was not indifferent, however, to the value of individual freedom. In "The Importance of Cultural Freedom" he not only raised his familiar theme of the need for "consensus" and cultural "integrity" but also pleaded for considerable artistic freedom and renewal. But how could individuality and tradition be reconciled? Once again, the South provided an example: the eccentric John Randolph of Roanoke. According to Weaver, this Virginian exemplified " 'social bond' individualism." Randolph recognized that man was a social animal; he belonged to the Christian humanist tradition; he struggled for local rights and limited government; he had the rich, earthy historical consciousness of the rhetorician. In unflattering contrast was Randolph's near-contemporary, Henry David Thoreau—an abstract "dialectician" who ignored history and hard fact whenever he desired and preached instead an "anarchic" perfectionist individualism that was "revolutionary and subversive." It was Randolph, the Southerner, the conservative, who was our surer guide.

In inveighing against the foes of the South past or present, Weaver moved beyond a critique of secular liberalism, science, and technology to a dissent even from modern capitalism. Here, too, he was loyal to his Agrarian roots. "Socialism is by definition anti-conservatism," he argued, "and capitalism cannot be conservative in the true sense as long as its reliance is upon industrialism, whose very nature it is to unsettle any establishment and initiate the endless innovation of technological 'progress.' " Weaver was profoundly concerned by the growth of "mass plutocracy"—the "greatest danger" America confronted. He distrusted advertising and lamented the popular views that man was a being of merely "appetitive function" and that material goods dispensed here and abroad could save us. Perhaps this sense of duty and self-restraint reflected Weaver's own austere and somewhat incongruous life as a University of Chicago professor. A man who annually returned to his North Carolina home to plow his land with horses (never a tractor), he lived the rest of the year in a single room in an undistinguished hotel in Chicago. A defender of the Christian faith, he attended church but once a year. "A shy little bulldog of a man," a "little gnome," as Russell Kirk and Bernard Iddings Bell called him, this Puritan in Babylon was indeed aloof from the gaudy, frenetic lifestyle of prosperous mid-century America. The language of duty and self-discipline—not "rights," not whims, not mindless indulgence or sneering cynicism—was the language of Richard Weaver.

★ The Usable Past

At this point Weaver's contribution to the conservative search for a "usable past" requires comment. He was not simply a "professional Southerner" or narrow regional apologist. Defending the Agrarian diaspora from the South in the 1940's, he pointed out: "In the battle against anti-humanist forces one does not desert by changing his locale for the plain reason that the battle is worldwide. . . . The sections fade out, and one looks for comrades wherever there are men of good will and understanding." Many of his most trenchant essays were not related to the merits of Southern culture, and conservatives at least would argue that the lessons he taught (on rhetoric, for instance) transcended such vagaries as time and circumstance. Weaver, in fact, had a low opinion of the argument from circumstance, and he warned conservatives, "There cannot be a return to the Middle Ages or the Old South under slogans identified with them. The principles must be studied and used, but in such presentation that mankind will feel the march is forward." Weaver cherished the values and institutions of his region not just because they were Southern but because they were true.

★ Anti-Majoritarians All

Perhaps the most immediately apparent feature of the conservative search for an American identity was the very fact that the Right felt the need to undertake it. In part the task was dictated by the structure of avowedly conservative thought, which believes that enduring truths have been found in the past and are embodied in "tradition." But in part it was dictated by the conservatives' perception that their exact relation to their own country was not self-evident: liberals had told them it was a *problem*. Most of the Right may have felt at home in America, but influential critics considered the movement historically as well as philosophically illegitimate. There was so much, consequently, to explain.

Of course, some conservative intellectuals might conceivably have replied: So what? Suppose that most of us do, in the last analysis, adhere to some form of "natural rights" theory. Suppose that we are "Lockean" rather than "Burkean" or "ancient." What then? We are what we are, regardless of semantic stratagems that try to make us all liberals when we know very well that the meaning of liberalism has changed many times in history. We are what we are, and we believe that in our tradition inhere certain truths—label them what you will. At one point Frank Meyer uttered such a sentiment:

> We are told that what is not in the tradition of Burke—or of the medieval synthesis—or of Plato—cannot call itself conservatism: anyone who insists upon freedom in the political and economic sphere together with "legitimate" conservative beliefs, is really half-liberal, half-conservative, a sad case of intellectual schizophrenia. Such criticism might be answered by simply pointing to actuality, asserting that, whether European intellectual history blesses us or not, this is the way the average contemporary American conservative thinks and feels; or by citing the founding documents of the Republic as authority—the authority of another, an American intellectual history.

In other words, we shall go our own way from the grassroots up. It will not be the first time that Americans have frustrated the purists. Besides, conservatism is not a neat ideology anyway.

Although many conservatives may have believed this, they did not often say it. Instead, they preferred to *argue* that America was not (totally) liberal, however one defined the word. Implicit in their effort was the belief that America's tradition, properly understood, was indeed congruent with truth as they defined it. But what if this happy belief proved unfounded? What if one concluded, for example, that Locke in America was philosophically "wrong" but historically entrenched? The possibility that truth and tradition were ultimately irreconcilable did not appear to trouble many conservatives (certainly not Kendall) in the decade or so after the founding of *National Review*. In time, however, such doubts would surface in a few places.

What, then, was the dominant theme of this massive conservative effort during the second postwar decade? There could be no doubt that it was "anti-majoritarianism"—the belief that the American political system traditionally stood for and should stand for principles like checks and balances, dispersal of power, limits on power and majorities. Many conservatives quoted Lord Acton approvingly: "Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely." Even if a "liberal" did say that, it was still wisdom. Frank Meyer and Russell Kirk—to take two outstanding proponents of this teaching—may have been in Kendall's eyes "false sages," but they were, in this area at least, at the center of the conservative intellectual movement.

Nevertheless, the emergence of the Straussian dissent and of the extraordinary Willmoore Kendall foreshadowed a major transition in the conservative movement in the late 1960's and early 1970's. For the anti-majoritarian brand of conservatism was in one way peculiarly conditioned: whether true or false, it was the protective doctrine of a minority consciousness, of a group that in its early days had the beleaguered status of a Remnant. Moreover, in an era of totalitarianism and huge government, the individual-vs.-authority formulation acquired additional plausibility. To an ex-Communist like Meyer, who had experienced tyranny at close range, the individual and his privacy had special worth. Thus there was logic in the fact that conservatives in their early days launched a revolt against the masses, against "democratic despotism," against majoritarianism, against the state.

★ II The People, Yes!

Yet by the middle and late 1960's, several factors favored the growth of a more "majoritarian" conservatism. First, as power was steadily consolidated in the expanding federal government under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, as the civil rights "revolution" proceeded and the Great Society mushroomed, it was increasingly obvious that "states' rights" and interposition were no longer very successful barriers to the liberal onslaught. Secondly, and more importantly, the appearance of civil rights and other minority movements, each asserting its *rights* and clamoring for power, shocked conservatives into criticism of these seemingly utopian and aggressive gnostic attacks on the fabric of civilization. No longer did pure, anti-government, "individualistic," libertarian rhetoric seem so universally relevant or persuasive. Not when individuals were expounding the *right* to civil disobedience. Not when people were defying the government by rioting or burning their draft cards. Suddenly a new rhetoric seemed essential. As Francis Wilson put it, ". . . public order rather than individual rights become [*sic*] increasingly our contemporary issue."

Finally, the trend toward majoritarianism was enormously stimulated by a series of Supreme Court decisions which aroused not only conservative intellectuals but broad segments of the populace whom right-wingers could now, at long last, cultivate. Policemen and law enforcement officials, for instance, enraged by Court decisions which protected the "rights" of criminals. Millions of Americans who could not understand why the "rights" of atheists should prevent the voluntary reading of the Lord's Prayer and the Bible in public schools. Americans angry about "permissiveness" and Court rulings on pornography. Politicians astounded by the Court's reapportionment decisions. Anti-Communists alarmed at the Court's continual blows at congressional investigations and Cold War legislation. Just as liberals criticized "nine old men" in the 1930's, so now many conservatives denounced the "ideologues" of the Warren Court who allegedly legislated rather than adjudicated for 200 million Americans. One sign of this mood was L. Brent Bozell's *The Warren Revolution*, which attacked even judicial review itself. But this was only one clue to the evolving conservative posture. It was not the "masses" but the "classes"—elites—which were now seen to be the sources of danger. And the once distrusted "masses" (thanks, in part, to the Court) were now accessible to the Right. Anti-majoritarian, limited-government, "mainstream" conservatism was a perspective especially congenial to a minority that might never gain power. Willmoore Kendall looked forward to the era of the "silent majority."

On one point, conservatives of all persuasions generally agreed: that liberal views of conservatism in America were frequently superficial and false. It was an error to equate conservatism with a mindless defense of the status quo. It was an error to identify conservatism with "medievalism" or "Burkeanism"—if by these latter terms one meant transient institutional forms. It was an error to perceive the American past as monolithically leftist.

Had conservatives, then, "found themselves"? If consistency were our only guide, the answer would be negative. The conservatives had not "found themselves" in agreement. Some accepted elements of Lockean liberalism, for example; some did not. There was no single, consistent conservative voice. But there had never been a single voice ("conservatism is not an ideology"), yet somehow the movement continued to thrive. Perhaps, therefore, another criterion should be applied. For conservatism was not simply an intellectual movement; it was an intellectual movement with political aspirations. For such a phenomenon, an old American measure may be most appropriate: success, and with this standard, a different perspective emerges. As the years went by, the need to articulate a historical rationale for American conservatism seemed to lose some of its urgency. Something *called* conservatism was winning adherents, and in these circumstances it became increasingly difficult to chide it for not belonging to the supposed main currents of American history.

Many of the liberal critiques, after all, were advanced in the 1950's, when renascent conservatism was still hardly off the ground, plagued by a paucity of intelligent literature, and unusually dependent on (and influenced by) European intellectuals. Conservatism, said Russell Kirk, "had almost lost the power of language" by the late 1940's. That era was now past. In one respect, time was actually on the conservatives' side. The longer the movement existed and the more scholarly literature it produced, the more legitimate it appeared. The more support it found in the country—Willmoore Kendall's country—the more rooted and "organic" it became.

CHAPTER IV. The Great Willmoore

Few who met Willmoore Kendall ever forgot him. He was born in Konawa, Oklahoma, in 1909, the son of a blind Southern Methodist minister. Kendall's early years were spent in little prairie towns where his father preached—towns like Konawa, Idabel, Mangum. He was a child prodigy who learned to read at the age of two by playing with a typewriter. He graduated from high school at thirteen, entered Northwestern University the same year, and graduated from the University of Oklahoma at eighteen. He was, in the words of a friend, "the boy wonder of Oklahoma."

After completing all non-thesis graduate work in Romance languages at the University of Illinois, Kendall became a Rhodes Scholar in 1932; his next four years abroad in many respects changed his entire life. It was at Oxford that he discovered his future intellectual passion: political philosophy. One of his tutors was the distinguished philosopher R. G. Collingwood, who, Kendall later remarked, was a major influence. The years in England were ones of excitement, challenge, and intellectual exploration, and in this atmosphere Kendall throve. He was argumentative, even quarrelsome, and loved to shock people into debate, taking on all comers in disputation far into the night.

Majoritarian of the Right

Willmoore Kendall

While Kendall's pugnacious probing at Oxford was generally good-humored, it helps to explain the later troubled personal and academic life of this strangely driven man.

While abroad in the 1930's, Kendall became known as a man of the Left—even (some believed) the Trotskyist Left. While the precise evolution of his beliefs in this period is in some dispute, the testimony of those who knew him at Oxford is solid on one point: he was an enthusiastic admirer of the Spanish Republic. In 1935 he left Oxford for a sojourn as a United Press correspondent in Madrid. This experience, which ended shortly before the civil war broke out on July 18, 1936, was one of the decisive moments of his career. Passionately in favor of the leftist Spanish Republic, Kendall became associated with a number of prominent Spanish Trotskyists in Madrid. According to Kendall's first wife, whom he married in 1935, Kendall's affinity for the Trotskyists was in large part a reaction against Stalinism. In the turbulent cockpit of Spanish political warfare, Kendall's detestation of Stalin and the Moscow-oriented Communists grew. The dictatorial, totalitarian, anti-democratic aspects of Communism appalled him. He later told a friend that as Spain slid toward civil war he could tolerate the Communists' blowing up the plants of opposition newspapers. But when they deliberately killed opposition *newsboys*—this was too much. Exposure to the Spanish Republic "really shook Willmoore up," one friend recalled, and within a few months, "his thought crystallized into fervent anti-Communism." This theme—militant, uncompromising hostility to Communism—became one of the dominant features of his thought. The disintegration of Spain, the awful specter of civil war, started a disillusioned man on the road to the Right. Like so many others of the postwar conservative movement, in Kendall's past there was a god—or, more likely in his case, only a demigod—that failed.

But if Kendall's anti-Stalinism was the genesis of a later, broader anti-Communism, it did not make an instant conservative out of him. Returning to the University of Illinois in the fall of 1936, Kendall continued to be a man of the Left. He supported the cause of Republican Spain and was even accused of recruiting students for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. His first scholarly articles in the late 1930's were of a decidedly left-wing cast—articles in which, for example, he advocated government ownership of the press and contended that an "economic oligarchy" had always held political power in America. Ever distrustful of elites, Kendall enunciated a radical democratic viewpoint—a position somewhat in fashion in the late 1930's during the debates over majority rule vs. the "nine old men" on the Supreme Court. In 1938 he supported the Ludlow Amendment, under which the United States could not officially go to war (except in case of invasion) until a national referendum was held. "There are those of us," he declared, "who believe that the best judges of a nation's welfare are the people who live in it; and once that belief has been set aside, the door is thrown wide open to the most violent excesses of minority rule."

★ II *The Lockean Majority*

Meanwhile, Kendall continued his study of political philosophy. He obtained his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Illinois in 1940. Kendall's dissertation, published a year later, was true to his temperament: daring, relentlessly argued, and unorthodox. Challenging the conventional notion that John Locke was the champion of inalienable natural rights, Kendall meticulously contended that Locke was actually a "majority rule" democrat. To be sure, Locke talked of natural rights, but in the last analysis he "would entrust to the majority the power of defining individual rights." ". . . Locke's natural rights are merely the natural rights vouchsafed by a legislature responsible to the majority. . . ." Society is sovereign, not the individual, whose rights are "a function of, not a limitation on," society. How could Locke have both "rights" and majority dominance? Because, said Kendall, of his "latent premise" that his kind of majority "would never withdraw a right which the individual ought to have."

Kendall's work, which was recognized as a major piece of scholarship on the Locke "problem," inaugurated one of the most unusual academic careers of his time. After government service during and after World War II (including a high position at the Central Intelligence Agency), Kendall joined the Yale University faculty in 1947 and stayed for fourteen tumultuous and bitter years. Never, although he had tenure, did Yale grant him a promotion from associate professor. Finally, in 1961, when Kendall believed it clear that he would never go higher at Yale, he offered to leave—if Yale "bought up" his tenure rights. Yale agreed and paid him a sum in the tens of thousands of dollars. Kendall told a friend that he was "the only man that Yale ever paid to resign from its faculty."

In his early years at Yale, Kendall called himself "an old-fashioned majority-rule democrat"; his principal scholarly enthusiasms were "majority-rule democracy" and the related critique of the "open society." Why was he so unremittingly hostile to the natural rights philosophy? A passage from a critique of one of his favorite targets—John Stuart Mill—provides a clue:

> Start out with Mill's principles, and you end, as Mill himself did, with the anarchistic view that there are no limits whatever upon the degree of "diversity" a society can stomach and still survive (wherefore we must today tolerate, for instance, anti-semitic utterance by our neighbors, because prohibiting it would infringe their "rights" to freedom of speech).

Again and again, in articles and on debate platforms, Kendall denounced the "heresy" that all questions are open questions. He insisted that all societies (including democracies) do have, ought to have, *must* have an orthodoxy, a consensus, a will to survive that they may rightfully defend against those who fundamentally challenge the very core of what they hold dear.

★ II *Kendall Comes Around*

To Kendall these considerations were no airy theoretical fancies. They were truths applicable to the greatest domestic debate of the late 1940's and early 1950's: the status and influence of Communism in American life. Into this fray he moved with characteristic vigor and flamboyance, soon emerging as one of the most capable of the academic defenders of Senator Joseph McCarthy, whom he knew personally. Tirelessly he defended McCarthy's crusade, Whittaker Chambers, and the determination of many Americans to declare Communists beyond the bounds of public protection. He criticized Alger Hiss and J. Robert Oppenheimer. Such activities were not likely to smooth the ruffled feathers of some of his enemies on the Left.

Kendall's fervent anti-Communism was only one of a number of factors pushing him toward conservatism in the 1940's. As the decade wore on, signs of his estrangement from liberalism multiplied. One early wedge was the great foreign policy debate of 1939-1941. Staunchly anti-interventionist (although still, at that time, a leftist in domestic affairs), Kendall grew increasingly saddened as many of his friends and heroes on the Left began to support war with Germany. Writing to a friend early in 1942, Kendall revealed his disenchantment with the nation's political Establishment:

> It is not, in short, my faith in the majority which I've lost. The majority has, in sober truth, arrived at no conclusions in the last couple of years that, on the evidence offered to it, I could fairly have expected it to reject. My concern, and disillusionment, is with the people who could have given them evidence of another kind—with, if you like, the most gigantic and unpardonable *trahison des clercs* of which History offers any record. To think of it makes me sick at heart.

Vehemently anti-Roosevelt, Kendall voted for Willkie in 1940 and hoped for a Republican victory in 1944. He was pleased by the Republicans' gains in the 1946 elections; perhaps, he explained to a friend, he would finally see what he had so long yearned for: "a Congress really asserting its prerogatives vis-à-vis the Executive." None of these positions made Kendall an orthodox conservative; indeed, his correspondence indicates that he was in many respects a man of the Left at least until 1946. But his was a left-wing stance of a decidedly idiosyncratic kind. It is not so surprising, then, that when the great "civil war" over loyalty and Communism erupted in the late 1940's, Kendall moved with apparent ease from Left to Right. So many of his enemies were *already* on the Left.

And one enemy above all: the liberal philosophy of natural rights and civil liberties. In a sense one can say that Kendall in the late 1940's did *not* change fundamentally at all; the Left did. For in the era of Joseph McCarthy, many Americans on the Left asserted with new fervor the value of civil liberties, individual rights, due process of law, checks and balances, and "pluralism." It had been easy to applaud popular sovereignty and sweeping majority rule back in the 1930's, when the enemy was the Supreme Court, "economic royalists," and Spencerian natural "rights." With the advent of McCarthy and other zealously anti-Communist legislators, however, pure majoritarianism lost much of its appeal. Perhaps the people could be misled by a demagogue; perhaps we needed institutions and elites to limit the untamed general will. To this reorientation in liberal thought, Willmoore Kendall—student of Rousseau, foe of elitism, enemy of John Stuart Mill—was impervious. Others might abandon their undiluted majoritarianism; not Willmoore. Well into the 1950's he strenuously maintained his old position. This unyielding theoretical consistency was one more ingredient in Kendall's deepening antagonism toward liberalism.

So Kendall ended on the Right. At first a supporter of Senator Taft in 1952, he voted for Eisenhower over "Addlepai" Stevenson, "the Ivy League Will Rogers." He even planned at one point (he had many plans) to write a *Confession of an American Imperialist Reactionary*, which would be "a declaration of war on the intellectuals." Many of his closest student friends at Yale went on to become conservative spokesmen—William F. Buckley, Jr., L. Brent Bozell, Stanley Parry. In 1955 Kendall became a senior editor of *National Review*.

And always he played the role of iconoclast, the man who loved to defend the seemingly impossible cause. In a stunning analysis of Plato's *Apology* and *Crito* in the late 1950's, for example, Kendall attacked head-on the view that Socrates was a faultless hero unjustly persecuted by an ignorant mob. If Athens were so utterly without reason, why did Socrates deliberately elect to stay there and die? If the Laws had no legitimate claim over him, why did he not escape? The true point of Plato's drama was the "sheer inevitability of the failure" of Socrates, the tragedy of a conflict of truths. On one side was a man inspired by God, a man with a "divine mission," a "revolutionary agitator" (in the eyes of the Assembly) who candidly and radically questioned the way of life of the *polis*. On the other was Athens, which did *not* savagely persecute him but first gave him a full hearing and was not convinced. How could it have been otherwise? Socrates made it plain that he would not, could not, cease to preach (in effect) the overthrow of the city. He was not harmless; already he had many devoted youthful followers. Therefore, Plato was saying, punishment of Socrates was unavoidable. Athens had offered him all that it possibly could—the Laws, freedom to speak in his own defense, even a chance to flee—and still survive. And Socrates understood this fact. He refused to become a modern liberal asserting his absolute "right" to speak regardless of other considerations. He spoke instead in the name of a shattering Truth, of God, *not* in the name of relativistic, "open-minded," free discussion in search of truths-that-don't-exist. *We* may prefer Socrates, Kendall concluded, but we must "forgive" Athens for its "second-best" choice which was actually more "realistic" than that of the man who forced it to condemn him.

Meanwhile, another fundamental reorientation of Kendall's life began to occur in the 1950's—a transformation as important as his earlier shift from Left to Right. In 1956 Kendall, long a religious skeptic, joined the Roman Catholic Church—impelled in part, he said, by the Church's centuries and centuries of tradition. It is possible that the Church's anti-Communism also had something to do with his conversion.

During the 1950's Kendall became profoundly influenced by two men whose thought, he believed, inaugurated a "revolution in political theory scholarship": Eric Voegelin and Leo Strauss. These two men, he acknowledged freely, dramatically changed his scholarly career. Kendall called Strauss "*the* great teacher of political philosophy, not of our time alone, but of any time since Machiavelli." Under Strauss's influence Kendall modified his view of John Locke, and in fact he was so affected by the "revolution" that his scholarly standards "changed drastically" and the pace of his own scholarship slowed down. He felt the duty to combat what Strauss called the "illegitimate" (that is, behaviorist, relativist, "value-free") branches of political science. Above all, Kendall absorbed the fundamental Straussian distinction between the Great Tradition and the rebellion against it inaugurated by Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Locke.

★ Consent and Rebellion

In numerous ways, Kendall held, the "moderns" deviated from the older and better conception of political man. The Great Tradition believed that man and society were "coeval"; the "contractarians" saw society as an "artifact" to be altered at will. The Great Tradition emphasized that man is social by nature; the contractarians emphasized instead the self-contained individual, isolated and fearful in a state of nature, who merely made a "contract" or compact to which he gave "consent." The Great Tradition emphasized man's "perfection" or "end"; the contractarians, merely man as he (supposedly) was. The Great Tradition especially emphasized natural law and the duties of men; the "modern" rebellion spoke only of natural "rights" which were not bound by duties or by any moral obligation at all. The only ultimate right, really (said the moderns), was mere self-preservation or self-interest. Indeed, the contract philosophers denied that a higher law existed. That was the question for Kendall: "whether there is or is not a higher law, independent of agreements and contracts, among men."

This new direction in Kendall's thought may seem puzzling on the surface. Natural law, truth, justice, the denigration of "consent"—how was this emphasis compatible with his former "absolute majoritarianism"? Kendall was a complicated thinker, and one should note the deep continuities between his earlier (leftist) and later (rightist) phases. In *both* periods, for example, he detested "individual rights" philosophies. In the earlier years he did so in the name of a majority (unhindered by formal bills of rights) eager to create and sustain an orthodoxy. Under Strauss's influence he called forth the natural law and duties. Perhaps there is an affinity between "absolute" majoritarianism and the "absolute" priority of justice and virtue over freedom and self-interest. At any rate, although he abandoned his absolute majoritarianism in the late 1950's, he did not surrender his belief that the majority should rule. Instead, he now began to speak of *kinds* of majorities, some good, some evil—a transition reflected in his "Two Majorities" article in 1960.

★ Justice vs. "Rights"

In the final decade or so of his life, Kendall became increasingly absorbed by a new task: the application of his political philosophy to the American tradition. Well before *National Review* was founded, Kendall was, of course, interested in American political institutions and their rescue from both Communists and liberals. But the demonstration that our heritage was reconcilable with the Great Tradition became a dominant theme only in his last years. This new orientation meant that Kendall had to change his mind on many things. For example, in his radical days he had highly regarded J. Allen Smith's *The Spirit of American Government* (1907). By the late 1950's and 1960's Kendall perceived Smith's book as the origin of the twentieth-century " 'liberal attack' on the inherited political system of the United States." Animating his later writing was the conviction that traditional America was fighting off a "war of aggression," a "Liberal Revolution" which sought to set up, "in Machiavelli's phrase, *new modes and orders*." Conservatism could be empirically defined as the resistance to this revolution. Of what did the liberal threat consist? First, the effort to create a totally "open" society; second, the ceaseless attempt to change the Constitution into a merely "plebiscitary" system; and third, the attempt to institutionalize a coarse egalitarianism. Kendall contrasted true, conservative criteria for evaluating regimes (justice, the common good) with false, liberal criteria (individual rights, equality). Indeed, there lay the "ultimate issue": natural law vs. relativism and self-interest, the Great Tradition vs. liberalism. Since liberalism was Lockeanism, conservatism must oppose both.

And so an issue that frequently troubled the postwar conservative movement burst out once more. The "official literature" (to borrow a phrase from Kendall) taught that the American tradition was inherently liberal. The "official literature" said that Locke decisively influenced the Founding Fathers, that America was (or ought to be) "open," equal, and solicitous of natural rights. Kendall disagreed.

Consider, for example, his interpretation of the Declaration of Independence. If, as liberals often said, the "all-men-are-created-equal" clause was our pre-eminent national commitment in 1776, why was equality not even mentioned in the Preamble to the Constitution only eleven years later? Surely the Fathers did not simply forget to include among the supreme defining purposes of the Constitution the one which everybody supposedly knew underlay all the rest. And why did *The Federalist Papers* and the Bill of Rights also neglect equality? What did the word connote, anyway? To Kendall it meant a universal right to justice, to government under law, to treatment as a human being. Equality did not mean liberal egalitarianism—the notion that men should be *made* equal in a material way. That notion emerged only much later, with Abraham Lincoln, whom Kendall found guilty of a tragic "derailment" of our tradition because of his claim that the Declaration of Independence had "constitutional status." Why, it had not even set up a nation—only "a baker's dozen of new sovereignties." The signers actually refused to condemn slavery in the Declaration and gave other indications that the document's phrases had no binding or compelling meaning. Kendall argued that to make the Declaration's equality clause a paradigmatic slogan was to distort grotesquely its limited intent.

Nor did the Constitution or Bill of Rights embody the absolute natural rights theory. Again, the Preamble spoke of ensuring justice, tranquillity, and other goals, not absolute individual "rights." Astoundingly, the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 had unanimously (and properly) rejected George Mason's proposal to include a bill of rights. How, if the Founders had been such thoroughgoing Lockeans, could they ever have done that? Moreover, there had been no "mandate" or genuine popular demand for a bill of rights, and the one which was adopted was conspicuously not the sort of document Justice Hugo Black later thought it was. It did not proclaim the United States an "open society"; that question was not even raised in 1790. The First Amendment did not even proclaim a right to free speech. It merely constrained Congress and gave a monopoly of "suppression" to the states. The First Amendment was simply a states' rights amendment.

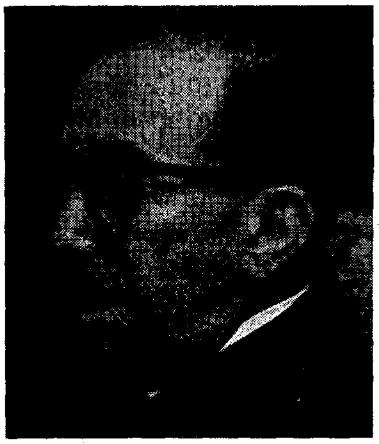
Moreover, relying on the scholarship of Leonard Levy, Kendall claimed with delight that history vindicated his analysis. Levy showed that the sainted Founding Fathers did not intend (and did not act as if they had intended) to set up a wide-open, do-your-own-thing society. The First Amendment was not believed at the time to abolish the common law of seditious libel. Indeed, said Kendall,

> the "people" whose representatives wrote and who themselves ratified the First Amendment, with its apparent guarantees of freedom of expression, had no tradition of free speech or a free press, no statesmen who were urging the need for these guarantees, and no political philosophers who had made out a case for them.

Even Jefferson himself had what Levy (but not Kendall) called his "darker side": this verbal libertarian "*did*, while in office, appear to act on the principle that no government should permit qualms about individual rights to get in the way of its policies." Now a critic might berate Jefferson and the Founders for failing to be twentieth-century libertarians. Or he could reprove Jefferson for "ill-considered" grandiloquent pronouncements out of office that could not possibly meet the test of "prudential considerations" in office. Kendall took the latter course.

In fact, he wondered, just where *did* this notion of free-speech-open-society come from? Clearly, ordinary Americans had no such understanding. In 1955, for instance, two-thirds of them would not even permit Communists and atheists to speak in their town or high school. Now whether this was a sign of intolerance or higher wisdom, it did, Kendall argued, make one wonder whether Americans had ever meaningfully adopted John Stuart Mill's ideas on free speech. Kendall was not "opposed" to "free speech." In fact, he said (*Conservative Affirmation*) that he sided "temperamentally" with the "let-'em-speak" people rather than the "shut-'em-up" people. But he refused to make a universally true, always applicable, absolute doctrine out of his preference. It seemed to Kendall—in an extreme, if humorous, statement—that the true American tradition was not "preferred freedoms" but "riding somebody out of town on a rail." And that was the point. America was *not* in theory *or* in practice an open society. The liberals were *wrong*—wrong on the Founding Fathers, wrong on the Bill of Rights, wrong on the day-to-day functioning of our tradition. Whatever the merits of their philosophy, they could not claim the American tradition as a support. That tradition was *ours*—the conservatives'—and liberalism was at best a recent accretion, a "foreign" body, not organic and not viable.

Back to the classics



Leo Strauss

It was not enough for Kendall to deny that the American tradition was exclusively or predominantly liberal. He had to show wherein our tradition was conservative. How did we know that what happened out there in America away from enclaves of liberals was not mulishness or ignorance but wisdom?

That something was indeed happening which conventional theory could not explain was the thesis of Kendall's pathbreaking article, "The Two Majorities." Noting the familiar fact of conflict between a "liberal" President and a "conservative" Congress in recent decades, Kendall sought to understand "an unexplained mystery": the fact that *"one and the same electorate maintains in Washington, year after year, a President devoted to high principle and enlightenment, and a Congress that gives short shrift to both. . . ."* Liberals, of course, had an easy explanation for this behavior: the Congress was undemocratic. First, they said, the Constitution itself—by such means as bicameralism, staggered elections, and rural over-representation—obstructed the translation of popular sentiment into decisive action. Secondly, the internal procedures of Congress—like the filibuster and the seniority system—further thwarted majority rule. To Kendall this analysis was superficial and greatly misleading. How could one accuse the Founding Fathers of erecting barriers to a plebiscitary system when such a system was still unheard of? Moreover, the presidential system as we know it was only later engrafted onto our system. Citing numerous passages from *The Federalist*, Kendall contended that the Fathers were majoritarians—but of a special sort.

★ II *Madisonian Deadlock*

For what the Fathers wished to achieve was majority decision articulated after "a process of deliberation among virtuous men representing potentially conflicting and in any case different 'values' and interests." This process of deliberation did *not* occur during the ritual of elections, as modern liberals would like. It did not involve deciding at elections between airy principles and visionary programs. It did not involve creation of a binding "mandate" at the polls. Instead, the central process was that of deliberations by the Congress itself—a Congress of good men elected by structured local constituencies and *uninstructed* by them, yet always and inevitably aware of them. It was the task of Congress not to "carry out" packaged campaign promises but to weigh and consider, to obtain "feedback" from the local communities—in short, to deliberate. For what purpose? To achieve a "deliberate sense of the community," a *consensus*—not a bare, ragged majority produced after a shrill clash of grandiose principles. It was this undramatic congressional majority that expressed the way the system was originally intended to operate.

> . . . insofar as the presidential election encourages the electorate to overestimate its dedication to moral principle, the congressional election encourages them, nay, obliges them, to take a more realistic view of themselves, and to send forth a candidate who will represent, and act in terms of, that more realistic view. By remaining pretty much what the Framers intended them to be, in other words, the congressional elections, in the context of the engrafted presidential election, provide a highly necessary corrective against the bias toward quixotism inherent in our presidential elections. . . . And it is well they do; the alternative would be national policies based upon a wholly false picture of the sacrifices the electorate are prepared to make for the lofty objectives held up to them by presidential aspirants. And executive-legislative tension is the means by which the corrective works itself out.

Long before it had become fashionable, Kendall was a critic of the "imperial Presidency."

In siding with Congress and the local constituencies against the President and the centralizing liberals, Kendall, of course, ended in the same camp as most other conservatives. But—and this point is crucial—he came to that position in an "old-fashioned" majoritarian way. Here were no stirring appeals to natural rights, no Goldwaterish blasts at "big government," no exaltation of abstract individual freedom, no denunciations of universal suffrage or "the tyranny of the majority." Instead, Kendall denied J. Allen Smith's contention (tacitly accepted by many conservatives) that the Constitution was essentially undemocratic. It was not, he insisted, hostile to majority rule *per se*. Even the Bill of Rights was not really a check on popular sovereignty.

> . . . Madison's Bill of Rights, correctly read, . . . leaves the natural rights, in the areas that Justice Black correctly regards as crucial, subject to the general Federalist principles that the deliberate sense of the American community is to be trusted, and that any attempt to put parchment barriers in its way will as a matter of course be ineffective. . . . If the people wills to do itself hurt—or, we may safely add, good either—who is to say it nay? And the answer, for the American system, would appear to be: in the crucial area, nobody.

But what *kind* of majorities should prevail? Not the plebiscitary ones, which, he stated in one article, "are not good instrumentalities for making public policy" and furthermore tend "to divide us, to make us bad friends with one another."

> We must learn, we conservatives, that the issue is *not* whether the American system is or is not "democratic," but which of two competing definitions of "democracy"—that which equates it with government by the "deliberate sense" of the people, acting through their elected representatives, and that which equates it with direct majority rule and equality—should prevail, and in doing so, learn to expose the falseness of the liberal's claim that the reforms he proposes can properly be defended in the name of democracy.

In a rousing debate with James MacGregor Burns in 1964, Kendall cheerfully admitted that the American political system as he understood it was not an effective instrument for "translating popular will into action" or "getting government to do things for the people." But that was precisely its design and its virtue:

> Our system was devised by men who feared and disliked *above all things* the operation in politics of sheer, naked will. . . . It was devised for purposes that had nothing to do with simplistic formulae like "the will of the people." . . . It was devised to effectuate not the will of the people, but rather, as *The Federalist* puts it, the deliberate sense of the community, the *whole* community, as to what ought to be done, what policies ought to be adopted.

From the majoritarianism of his radical days Kendall had moved to a subtle, "Madisonian," majority-rule posture.

★ II *The Real Majority*

Kendall freely conceded that nothing explicitly written in the Constitution required "deliberate sense" or "consensus" majorities. Indeed, the document itself had—on paper—extraordinary "plebiscitary potential." Consider afresh its words alone. It did not explicitly incorporate any notions of "separation of powers"; in fact, it was virtually a "congressional supremacy" document. An aroused, sustained majority in Congress could, if it wished, run roughshod over the other two supposedly equal branches. By impeachment and the power of the purse it could control the President. By such tactics as "court-packing" or regulation of appellate jurisdiction it could, if it wished, subdue the Supreme Court. Nothing forbade the emergence of a "mandate" system; Article V, in fact, even allowed the most drastic alterations of the Constitution to be adopted by the country. Clearly Kendall was no ordinary "strict constructionist."

And yet this most unconservative constitutional potential had never been actualized. Congress had refrained from using all its powers to dominate the government or become the vehicle of every passing majority. Our system, said Kendall, has accepted the rise of judicial review, although, as L. Brent Bozell had by now "conclusively demonstrated," the Constitution did not, in the eyes of those who wrote it, empower the Court to declare legislative acts unconstitutional. But Kendall held that We the People had, in our wisdom, adopted various political "habits" such as the filibuster, the seniority system, the avoidance of polarized ideological parties, and the resistance to being "mobilized" for such ends as drastically amending the Constitution. We had absorbed, in short, a particular "constitutional morality." Its purpose—the purpose of these "habits"—was not to thwart majority rule but to create a certain *kind* of majority rule.

And whence had this morality come? Above all, it was articulated in a book which Kendall tirelessly extolled as a "sacred" text: *The Federalist Papers*. It was "Publius" who persuaded Americans to accept a certain interpretation of the Constitution and a certain process by which the country was to be governed. In a luminous passage, Kendall summarized his distinctive teaching:

> . . . what I do take sides on is the thesis of *The Federalist Papers*, namely: That America's mission in the world is to prove to the world that self-government—that is, government by the people through a representative assembly which, by definition, calls the plays—is possible. What I do take sides on is our solemn obligation, as Americans, to value the good health of the American political system—the system we have devised in order to prove to the world that self-government is possible—above the immediate demands, however just and right, of any minority. What I do take sides on is government by consensus, which, I repeat, requires of minorities demanding drastic change that they bide their time until they have pleaded their case successfully before the bar of public—not merely majority—opinion. What I do take sides on is the Preamble of the Constitution, which gives equal status to justice and domestic tranquillity, and so pledges us to pursue them simultaneously and not, even in the "case" that seems "dearest" to a protesting minority, subordinate domestic tranquillity to justice.

To Kendall, one of the great strengths of the American system was its ability to prevent the rise of "pockets of irredentism that produce crises." Perhaps in the back of his mind he was thinking of Spain.

Kendall was shrewd enough to realize that he could not base his defense of a tradition on a single book that might be dismissed as propaganda. In a posthumously published book, *The Basic Symbols of the American Political Tradition* (with George Carey), he attempted to uncover the "basic symbols" of America's heritage. Employing the methodology of Eric Voegelin, Kendall argued that any society's self-understanding could be explored by scrutiny of its myths and symbols—in America's case, her formative public documents from the Mayflower Compact to the Bill of Rights. According to Kendall, the true tradition—of which even the Declaration of Independence, properly interpreted, was a part—was: "the representative assembly *deliberating* under God; the virtuous people, virtuous because deeply religious and thus committed to the *process* of searching for the transcendent Truth."

And, argued Kendall, this commitment had never been abandoned. In blunt contrast to nearly all other conservatives of his time, many of whom were deeply skeptical of the masses, Kendall stated, time and time again, that We the People had not ceased to be "virtuous," to keep the faith of the Fathers. Oh, the people were inarticulate—he knew that. Yet they had succeeded in carrying the tradition (the Great Tradition) "in their hips"—a favorite phrase he attributed to Lincoln Steffens. Kendall called himself an "Appalachians-to-the-Rockies patriot." Even in the dark days of 1964 he maintained that "the overwhelming majority of the American people" were conservative. A frequent undercurrent of his writings was the conviction that in the local communities political wisdom could still be found. He had faith in "neighborliness," which "knocks the edges off the tendency to be doctrinaire." The Liberal Revolution—construed especially as an assault on the structure, not the substance, of our politics—had not been consummated. The American people were still bound by a consensus. They had not converted our system to "reliance on the sheer, naked will of the majority." In their hips they knew they were right.

★II "Taming" Civil Rights

Even the civil rights movement, Kendall said in one of his last essays, had been obliged to conform to the still vital American system. In 1964, a few years before he died, Kendall had predicted that this allegedly revolutionary force would precipitate a "constitutional crisis comparable to and graver than that which precipitated the Civil War. . . ." The American political system, based on government by "consensus" or "the deliberate sense of the community," and biased against "governmentally induced drastic change," would clash with a group that demanded such change and would not take "no" for an answer. (Kendall did not believe, however, that America was opposed to all change. In fact, he later said, our political system has a bias "in favor of leaving drastic changes—they do happen in America, often more swiftly than they could happen anywhere else—to free, spontaneous action by individuals out in American society.") Three years later, even as American cities were wracked by riots, Kendall announced that the civil rights movement had been "killed." His earlier prediction of a constitutional crisis had not come true. Why this unexpected development? First, the movement had lost "steam" because it had been "deserted" by many white liberals. Secondly, its greatest victories—the congressional legislation of 1964 and 1965—had been won at the price of increasing opposition and of moving the scene of battle from the South to the "more difficult terrain" of the North. Thirdly, by altering its objectives from legal equality to "substantial" equality for blacks, it had increased the obstacies to further success. In other words, the more radical it became, the less the likelihood of victory. Finally—and this was Kendall's "favorite" explanation—the crisis had been averted because the civil rights forces had been made "a prisoner of the traditional American political system and thus of consensus politics." The movement had been "softened in order to restore equilibrium in the American political system. . . ." How? Precisely by the legislation of 1964 and 1965, which Kendall, virtually alone among conservatives, hailed as "great conservative victories." Congress had skillfully given the civil rights advocates the appearance of triumph, had domesticated the movement, without giving it in practice what it had conceded in principle. And the system stood.

★ II *The "Original Deal"*

Still, there was no denying that America faced a massive rebellion. It had been initiated, Kendall said on one occasion, by Abraham Lincoln, whose "legitimate offspring" were today's liberals, "dedicated like Lincoln to egalitarian reforms sanctioned by mandates emanating from national majorities. . . ." To Kendall, Lincoln was the prototype of the modern, liberal, "strong" President. The rebellion was fanned, said Kendall, by a Liberal Propaganda Machine and advanced by the Warren Court. The "cancer" that threatened "the very survival of the American political system" was not, however, judicial review as such (which had the sanction of tradition) but the "due process" and "equal protection" clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment, without which the desegregation and school prayer decisions, for instance, would never have been made. On one occasion he even called for the repeal of the Amendment, or at least a "clarification" of it, or perhaps a congressional removal of the offending clauses from the Court's jurisdiction. On a later occasion he pointed to an ambiguity: "Does the Fourteenth Amendment call for the equal protection of existing laws? Or does it call for revising existing laws until they confer equal protection?" To Kendall the former meaning was correct—and it had been accepted by the Supreme Court for decades.

Kendall was less interested, however, in determining the original intention of the Amendment than he was in the meaning of the Court's new interpretation of our entire system. The original Constitution, he noted, had clearly given the monopoly of power in the fields of suffrage, education, religion, and legislative apportionment to the states. The original government, which included the Court, "was to keep its hands off . . ." This was, as he put it in his distinctive idiom, the "original deal," which the Tenth Amendment "merely hammers down." There was "nothing . . . sacred" about the deal that "couldn't be revised as time went on." If, he continued, the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment merely meant "that all are entitled to the impartial application of existing laws," then the "original deal . . . is still on." But if the other meaning was in force, then the Fourteenth in effect repealed the Tenth! The Supreme Court, by opting for this other meaning, had grossly changed the "deal." It had done so by ignoring the proper process of alteration: constitutional amendment. But, he warned conservatives, do not waste time arguing about the legality of judicial review. Instead, challenge the wisdom of Court decisions. And "get busy and amend the Fourteenth Amendment."

Yet if the menace from the Left were so profound, how could Kendall be sure that We the People would remain "virtuous"? In an essay on Richard Weaver, he gave his answer: a "select minority" (Ortega's phrase) must serve as guardians and teachers of the truths of their culture. To Kendall, Weaver was such an exemplar, and Weaver's *Visions of Order* (1964) was actually the "missing" section of *The Federalist*, the section which would tell us how the virtue requisite to republican self-government would be maintained. Kendall ranked Weaver among the greatest contemporary conservative intellectuals. It was evident from Kendall's writings that Leo Strauss was another such teacher. And it was evident that still another would have to be Kendall himself.

Kendall was thoroughly dismayed as he surveyed the ranks of those who should serve as teachers of the virtuous people: the contemporary conservative intellectual movement. Time and again Kendall revealed his exasperation with his fellow intellectuals of the Right. They were, he believed, generally a "poor lot," full of "false teachers." The movement was disturbingly "rent" by divergent opinions about the very nature of the system it was supposed to be defending. Indeed, it even seemed at times "to be in the *business* of being unprepared intellectually for the next thrust of the Liberal Revolution." There was, for instance, Frank Meyer, "the false sage of Woodstock"; John Chamberlain; and all the other libertarians who perpetuated the "liberal lie" that our tradition was one of "individual rights." There were those—he mentioned Meyer and Frank Chodorov, but nearly all were guilty—who railed against "big government," even government *per se*, as inherently evil. *The Federalist* should have taught them otherwise. There were those who ceaselessly lamented that the Right was losing to the Left. The truth was that the Right had not been routed.

★ II *The Restless Eccentric*

Moreover, Kendall was relatively indifferent to laissez-faire economics—perhaps because he had immersed himself in Lord Keynes's thought at Oxford in the 1930's. His conservatism, he proclaimed, "had sworn no vow of absolute fidelity . . . to free enterprise à la von Mises. . . ." He even attacked the widespread conservative belief that political freedom and free enterprise were inseparable: "Given an appropriate public opinion, I see no reason why a free political system and a socialized economic system couldn't coexist on one and the same piece of real estate." Kendall, it is true, like other conservatives, definitely believed in "private initiative" and economic freedom; he was no egalitarian socialist. But unlike many other conservatives, he did not believe that the primary threat to "private initiative" came from government at all:

> . . . if the future of individual initiative depends on . . . containing the advance of leveling for the sake of leveling, of principled egalitarianism, then . . . we can safely say that private initiative is safe for the foreseeable future because, as far as this threat is concerned, there exists in America a

healthy public opinion which, when the chips are down, is against leveling.

But he warned that some of the most serious dangers came from the private sector: "the bureaucratization of business enterprise" and "the rise of the meritocracy." Once again we observe his lifelong distrust of elites—wherever they existed.

Kendall's conservatism, in short, was unique. His was a political conservatism, concerned not so much with particular programs as with a process of making decisions. He was quite willing, he said, to let issues be settled "on their merits" in the political arena. He explicitly dissociated himself from "Tenth Amendmentite anxieties." As far as he was concerned, it was part of "the proper business of the American constitutional system to decide when powers reserved to the states and the people shall be moved 'across the line'" to the federal government. Indeed, "the sky's the limit . . . *provided* . . . we do not stumble into a constitutional crisis. . . ." Perhaps there was a deeper reason for his divergence from so much conservative thought and his startling unconcern about so many right-wing apprehensions. From the 1930's to the late 1960's, the American Right was often haunted by fear: what if the majority of the people irrevocably abandon the truths that we hold dear? Deep down inside, Willmoore Kendall, the Middle American boy from Oklahoma, seems never to have felt that fear. Konawa, Idabel, Mangum: The virtuous people, Yes.

Willmoore Kendall died in 1967. His had been a life of restless eccentricity. Even in private life Kendall was unusual. Thrice married, he may have been the only person in the history of the Roman Catholic Church to have two marriages annulled simultaneously.

What did his colleagues think of him? He was universally regarded as a matchless teacher. Nearly everybody—friend and foe alike—agreed that he was one of the most brilliant and remarkable men they had ever met. Leo Strauss told him that he was the best American political theorist of his generation. William F. Buckley, Jr. called him "the most difficult human being I have ever known. . . ." It was said at *National Review* that he was never on speaking terms with more than one associate at once—and never the same one. In part because of his combativeness, in part because of his marred academic career, Kendall's influence on his profession and the conservative movement was limited in 1967. For these reasons, plus his ardent "egghead McCarthyism," he never gained while he was alive the full, careful attention that he deserved from his profession. Yet the time would soon come when some conservatives and political scientists would begin to feel that he had been ahead of his time.

Kendall had offered the most comprehensive and daring reinterpretation of America's political heritage developed by anyone on the Right since World War II. Some have gone further. Professor Jeffrey Hart of Dartmouth College has written: "Willmoore Kendall remains, beyond any possibility of challenge, the most important political theorist to have emerged in the twenty-odd years since the end of World War II."

CHAPTER V. The Great Machiavellian

WHILE MEN LIKE Kendall, Meyer, and Kirk were exploring the theoretical underpinnings of conservatism, James Burnham made one of the decisive contributions in the area of foreign policy.

Born in 1905, educated at Princeton and Oxford, Burnham served on the faculty of New York University as a professor of philosophy from 1929 to 1953. Like so many others who eventually found their home on the Right, Burnham had been a man of the far Left in the 1930's. Working with Communist unions in Detroit, Burnham eventually became associated with A. J. Muste and, in 1934, with the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky. Although Burnham later stated that he never became a full ideological Marxist, he was an active Trotskyist and editor of the *New International* for several years. Gradually, disillusion set in, as it did for many others. Burnham discovered that he could no longer accept Trotsky's contention that Russia, despite Stalin's "aberration," was still essentially a "progressive" "worker's state," to be defended at all costs. Burnham argued instead that the Soviet regime was profoundly "exploitative and imperialist"—a hypothesis confirmed, he believed, by the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939 and the Russian war with Finland. In March 1940, Burnham severed all ties with the Trotskyists.

A year later Burnham published his provocative book *The Managerial Revolution*, soon followed by *The Machiavellians*. Meanwhile, he contributed frequently to *Partisan Review*. During these years, Burnham later reflected, he was undergoing a process of "re-education":

> Having come to know something of the gigantic ideology of Bolshevism, I knew that I was not going to be able to settle for the pigmy ideologies of liberalism, social democracy, refurbished laissez-faire, or the inverted, cut-rate Bolshevism called "fascism." Through the Machiavellians I began to understand more thoroughly what I had long felt: that only by renouncing all ideology can we begin to see the world and man.

Recoiling from the Left, Burnham developed a tough-minded perspective that would not be deceived by silly moral platitudes or verbal camouflage of hard realities. He was determined to be a dispassionate scientist of power, a *Realpolitiker*—in that sense, a "Machiavellian."

In the decade after 1945 Burnham turned increasingly to the problems of global politics. Soon he became a formidable polemicist, writing with brisk, lucid self-assurance on the world conflict with Communism. The first of his influential books, *The Struggle for the World*, appeared in 1947; part of it was based on work done for the O.S.S. Heavily influenced by Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History*, which he cited often, and by the geopolitical theories of Sir Halford Mackinder, Burnham argued that the world had reached an intolerable crisis.

> The discovery of atomic weapons has brought about a situation in which Western Civilization, and perhaps human society in general, can continue to exist only if an absolute monopoly in the control of atomic weapons is created. This monopoly can be gained and exercised only through a World Empire . . . the present candidates for leadership in the

> World Empire are only two: the Soviet Union and the United States.

Burnham contended that the Communist drive for world domination had already begun; the Third World War was a fact. Relentlessly he asserted that the Communist goal was "irrevocable": total power, the conquest of the planet —a result which would mean the "destruction" of the most "cherished" values of Western civilization. The danger was imminent and the struggle "irrepressible."

What, then, should be done? Only the United States could prevent a Communist triumph; conciliation and drift meant defeat: ". . . you can get along with Communism in only one way: by capitulating to it." In terms of defense, Burnham proposed measures to prevent Communist consolidation of the Eurasian World Island (Mackinder's term) and to thwart Communist infiltration. The United States should, for example, abandon the notions that our world objective is peace and that all nations are "equal." It should "discard" the "verbal shell" of "non-intervention in the internal affairs of other nations"; in the future, more, not less, intervention might be necessary. It should use massive worldwide propaganda, give all necessary aid to allies, and refuse to collaborate with the U.S.S.R. It must immediately outlaw and suppress the domestic Communist movement. Offensively, America must initiate a "non-Communist World Federation":

> The reality is that the only alternative to the Communist World Empire is an American Empire which will be, if not literally worldwide in formal boundaries, capable of exercising decisive world control. . . . The United States cannot help building an Empire.

As a first step, Burnham suggested "common citizenship and full political union" with Great Britain and her Dominions.

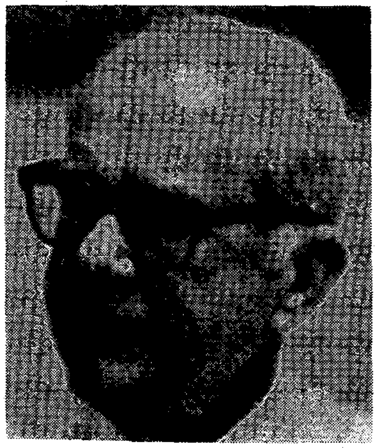
★ II Policy of Vacillation

Behind Burnham's energetic prose lurked a deep sense of pessimism. While he did not consider all-out war technically inevitable, he was convinced that it was "very probable"; perhaps it would even occur before his book came off the presses. Burnham believed that his own proposals need not provoke war. Still, "The danger of this war will not disappear until the present Soviet regime is overthrown, and world Communism as a whole rendered impotent." This must be the American goal. The problem was that Burnham could discern no such American resolve. Instead, despite some new official rhetoric of "toughness," Burnham, writing in 1946, detected in American conduct of foreign policy only a "policy of vacillation." If this continued (as he expected), "the defeat and annihilation of the United States are probable."

In 1950 Burnham produced another fervent polemic: *The Coming Defeat of Communism.* In many respects this book was a recapitulation and "extension" of *The Struggle for the World.* Here again was the mood of crisis, the dramatic insistence that we were already in a war with aggressive Communism, that compromise and neutrality were impossible, that the United States must mobilize now. Here again were withering blasts at weak, confused American diplomacy: it was contradictory, narrow, defensive, and lacking in objectives. Here again were the exhortations to seek the only proper goal: "the destruction of the power of Soviet-based Communism."

There were also new elements in Burnham's analysis. First, he stressed more than before signs of current "vulnerability" in the Communist camp, including restiveness in the satellites, economic disorder, and rigid bureaucracies. Indeed, Burnham even conceded that "in a strictly military sense" the United States had little to fear from Russia for several years. Nevertheless, the time to act was now. For if the Communists consolidated their postwar gains without hindrance (again the influence of Mackinder was obvious), and if the Americans continued passively to pretend that the Third World War had not yet begun, then total war would be inevitable. The immediate exploitation of Communist weaknesses, however, would enable the Free World to defeat its foe *without* full-scale war. Burnham insisted that we could win at the level of "political-subversive warfare." Indeed, it was "the only rational alternative to immediate armed attack" on the Soviet Union. (Burnham indicated that the decision whether or not to initiate "an immediate total attack" on the Soviet Union was only "a problem of expediency." At the moment circumstances did not dictate an all-out war, but circumstances might change. Burnham believed that his plan for "offensive political warfare" was the only way to avoid a full-scale war.)

Liberation
or
defeat



James
Burnham

Secondly, and rather uncharacteristically, Burnham in 1950 allowed himself a little hope, as the very title of his book suggested. Between 1946 and 1949 the Communists had made sweeping gains, he observed, but the "net trend" had turned against them. Despite all the inadequacies of past and current U.S. policies, America had at least awakened somewhat and had slowed the rate of Communist advance. Burnham believed that the defeat of Communism was "inevitable" because Americans had the *will* to survive. This did not mean, of course, that we could get by with Coué-like slogans about improving every day in every way. Burnham's book bristled with practical suggestions, often involving what he labeled "untraditional methods." Direct propaganda at the Communist elite. Break the Communist hold on the world labor movement. Initiate a "united front with the Vatican." Establish an East European Institute. Utilize refugees and the resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain. Establish an agency to guide and conduct "unorthodox" operations. Overthrow Albania. Prevent Moscow from reconquering Yugoslavia—even at the risk of war. These were but a few of Burnham's specific ideas. But all depended on the will to survive and the development of intelligent leadership. At the end of his book Burnham considered the United States equal to the challenge.

★ II A Call for Liberation

The optimism in *The Coming Defeat of Communism* was gone from Burnham's next major postwar book, *Containment or Liberation?*, published in 1953. Burnham acknowledged that the United States government had at last developed a foreign policy of containment, principally devised by George Kennan. Unfortunately, it was totally inadequate. Among Burnham's criticisms were the assertions that "containment" was purely defensive, inapplicable to the gigantic Soviet Union, and fundamentally unable "to comprehend the revolutionary nature of the Communist enterprise." Moreover, it was spiritually deficient: "Who will willingly suffer, sacrifice, and die for containment?" It was simply "a policy of drift" whose "inner law" was: "let history do it." But, Burnham pleaded, we cannot rely on history to bail us out:

> If the Communists succeed in consolidating what they have *already* conquered, then their complete world victory is certain. . . .
>
> What this means is that liberation is the only defense against a Soviet world victory.

How could liberation be achieved? Burnham dismissed the "west European strategy" of mere containment as "without hope." For one thing, western Europe could not survive without eastern Europe, and it would eventually have to surrender to Moscow, or else free Moscow's satellites. Nor would an "Asian-American strategy" proposed by Senator Taft suffice; the immediate threat to America lay in Europe, not the Far East. Obviously still reflecting the geopolitical view of Mackinder, Burnham declared that preoccupation with Asia "leaves the enemy free to go about his principal and decisive business: the consolidation of the Heartland and of the surrounding Empire. . . ." He proposed instead a third alternative: an "east European strategy" designed to take the offensive and carry the conflict to the enemy's base. Only this approach could repel the Communist threat. In the final section of his book he presented such ideas as a recognition of exile governments and establishment of military units of exiled soldiers as means for the liberation of the captive nations.

The degree to which the foreign policy debate had been personalized by 1953 was evident in Burnham's third book on the subject. In a chapter entitled "Is Political Warfare Possible?" he expressed doubt that this crucial mode of conducting the Cold War would ever be effectively employed by the United States. He attributed this American weakness to the presence of an "ideologized minority" of government officials whose views of the world were shaped "in the context of the economic depression of the 1930's and the political struggle against Hitler and Nazism." They were products (although Burnham did not use the word) of the "Red Decade." Passionately anti-fascist, these men, said Burnham, never felt quite the same way about Communism.

> Communism was not like fascism, not wholly evil as fascism was, because—they were taught without knowing they were being taught—Communism "has the same ideals that we have, even if we differ on the methods." . . . It was only about Nazism that they felt strongly.

Such men were not comfortable with "hard anti-Communists." Who were these men? Burnham named examples: Dean Acheson, Charles Bohlen, John Paton Davies, Jr., and others who defended such men as Alger Hiss, Owen Lattimore, John Stewart Service, and other State Department officials and advisers suspected of treason or gross neglect of America's national interests in the 1940's.

The influence of Burnham's books on American attitudes toward the Cold War seems to have been substantial; certainly he gained a respectful hearing both inside and outside the government. When *The Struggle for the World* appeared in 1947, *The Christian Century* contended that Burnham's book coincided precisely with President Truman's new policy toward Greece and Turkey. It might even be no coincidence, the journal noted, that the Truman Doctrine and Burnham's book were published in the same week. Burnham undeniably established significant government connections in the first Cold War years. In the early 1950's, he lectured "regularly" at the National War College, the Air War College, the Naval War College, and the School for Advanced International Studies. In *The Coming Defeat of Communism* he advocated the establishment of an East European Institute, or University; perhaps it was only happenstance that on July 22, 1951 the founding of the Free Europe University in Exile was announced, with James Burnham as one of the trustees. Early in 1952, the *New York Times* quoted New York University as saying that Burnham was "officially on leave to do research from the nation's capital." His "research" included work for the Central Intelligence Agency, for which Burnham had been a consultant. He was also very active in the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, which received financial assistance from the C.I.A.

★ II Burnham and U.S. Policy

Outside of government circles Burnham's writings also received careful attention. Each of his books was widely, often vehemently, reviewed and discussed. Moreover, as an editor of *Partisan Review* and contributor to *The New Leader*, Burnham had access to articulate, left-of-center audiences. More important for his later associations was his growing stature on the Right. In the early 1950's he increasingly contributed to the *American Mercury* and *The Freeman*. Substantial excerpts from all three of his foreign policy books, for example, were printed in the *American Mercury* in 1947, 1950, and 1952. When *Containment or Liberation?* appeared, Frank Meyer, a former Communist, praised it in the *American Mercury*, while Eugene Lyons of *Red Decade* fame lauded it in *The Freeman*. Another sign of his prominence in and acceptance by conservative groups was the comment in 1952 by Raymond Moley, a *Newsweek* columnist and former adviser to President Roosevelt. Moley claimed that *The Struggle for the World* "had no little influence in shaping the thinking of Republican critics of the Truman-Acheson diplomacy."

It seems safe to say, then, that James Burnham as much as anyone provided the theoretical formulation of the conservative critique of liberal foreign policies in the early Cold War. He as much as anyone made militant, global anti-Communism a characteristic of the postwar intellectual Right.

Burnham's contribution to the conservative movement was not limited to global strategy. He examined the weakening of Congress in his 1959 study, *Congress and the American Tradition*, one of the most penetrating works of political analysis produced by conservatives since World War II. Fifteen years later, in the wake of the Watergate affair, Irving Kristol—by then a "neo-conservative"—acclaimed Burnham's book "a critical analysis of the emerging 'imperial Presidency' that is still the most perceptive and thoughtful of the lot." In a useful examination of conservative and liberal "syndromes," Burnham conveyed the essential differences between most of the Right and most of the Left in their approach to politics. Conservatives, for example, generally believed in the continuing value of our constitutional tradition, in the diffusion of power, in "representative, mediated government" (as opposed to undiluted "plebiscitary democracy"), in states' rights, decentralization, localization; and had a presumption in favor of private enterprise, and in favor of Congress rather than the Executive. Alas, every one of these values was under the gravest attack. In particular, Congress, once supreme, had declined since 1933 from a "peer of the Executive" to a "mere junior partner." Burnham relentlessly amassed the evidence of executive aggrandizement and congressional decay: loss of dominant control over legislation; loss of meaningful power over the bureaucracy, over the vast appropriations, over war-making, over treaties. To offset this "constitutional revolution," Congress was relying heavily on the investigatory power. Yet that, too, was increasingly disparaged, particularly by liberals angered and frightened by Joseph McCarthy.

But did this decline of Congress really matter? To Burnham the stark alternative to a strong Congress was the rampaging ideology of "democratism"—scornful of all "intermediary institutions," unaware of the value of concurrent majorities, impatient of limits and liberties, culminating in the "democratic" dictatorship of a presidential Caesar who "embodies" the people, the "mass men" described by Ortega y Gasset. This alternative, Burnham believed in 1959, was now a likelihood. Congress—"the prime intermediary institution" remaining—would probably die, and the "democratist, plebiscitary, bureaucratic, centralist, Caesarean" tendencies that were the "political phase" of the "managerial revolution" would triumph. But, he warned, "if liberty, then Congress; if no Congress, no liberty."

In 1964 Burnham published one of the most incisive conservative books of the postwar period. *Suicide of the West* was a systematic analysis and indictment of liberal ideology: its alleged double standard, guilt complex, relativistic theory of truth, and a host of other flaws in its understanding of the world. While Communism, for instance, was a threat from the Left, liberalism—"infected" with Communism—was deluded by the false assumption that the true enemy was always on the Right. Indeed, it could "function effectively only against the Right." To Burnham the function of liberalism was starkly clear: the reconciliation of the West to "dissolution." Liberalism was nothing less than "the ideology of Western suicide."

> What Communism does is to carry the liberal principles to their logical and practical extreme: the secularism; the rejection of tradition and custom; the stress on science; the confidence in the possibility of molding human beings; the determination to reform *all* established institutions; the goal of wiping out all social distinctions; the internationalism; the belief in the welfare state carried to its ultimate form in the totalitarian state.

Burnham's contention in 1964 that liberalism was the ideology of Western suicide must have seemed a bit fanciful, even to conservatives, in that year of Lyndon Johnson, the Great Society, "consensus," and the massive rejection of Barry Goldwater. The tide seemed so inexorably moving to the Left. Within a half-decade, however, the liberal mood and perhaps the tide had changed. Conservatives were increasingly convinced that their hour was approaching and that liberalism as a coherent intellectual and political force was fragmenting and expiring.

★ II A "Moribund" Regime?

James Burnham contributed a penetrating article to the fifteenth anniversary issue of *National Review* in 1970. Much of his analysis was, no doubt, familiar enough to conservatives. Liberalism was "moribund," devoid of self-confidence and creative energy, unable to cope with the "Augean wave" of immorality and the New Left. Liberalism's "secular relativism and permissiveness" gave an inadequate "metaphysical foothold." Relying on the insight of Christopher Dawson and T. S. Eliot, Burnham argued that liberalism was parasitically dependent on pre-liberal authority. "That authority is now dissolving," and liberalism could not stop it.

From here on, however, Burnham ventured into new territory. Could it be that the United States government was itself on the verge of collapse, that the regime itself (in the Aristotelian sense), to which *both* conservatism and liberalism subscribed, was "moribund"?

> Can the American type of government under the pluralistic compete-bargain-compromise rules survive the decay of liberalism? How can authority be reasserted in the moral and political mash compounded during the permissive epoch? Can a post-liberal government be authoritative without being authoritarian? . . . Can an effective post-liberal government be constructed within the framework of the Constitution?

Burnham offered no glib answers, but the tone of his remarks was not optimistic.

CHAPTER VI. The Right Goes Public

In 1966 Jeffrey Hart ventured in his book *The American Dissent* a prediction about the future of American liberalism:

> . . . under the pressure of the world revolution, as contradictions and evasions are exposed to an ever greater extent, liberalism most certainly will undergo fragmentation. Many liberals will move to the Left, jettisoning their remaining Western cultural attachments. Others, just as inevitably, will move to the Right, becoming more conservative.

Far more than he probably ever anticipated, Hart proved to be a prophet. For in the half-decade or so after his book appeared, conservatives watched with interest as increasing numbers of prominent liberal scholars began to utter conservative thoughts.

One of the first to adopt the new posture was the liberal sociologist Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who spoke before the national board of Americans for Democratic Action in September 1967. In that dismal autumn, as war raged in Asia and riotous demonstrations erupted at home, Moynihan implored his fellow liberals—who were, after all, in power in the United States—to learn some unusual lessons:

> 1. Liberals must see more clearly that their essential interest is in the stability of the social order; and given the present threats to that stability, they must seek out and make much more effective alliances with political conservatives who share their interest . . .
> 2. Liberals must divest themselves of the notion that the nation, and especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington.

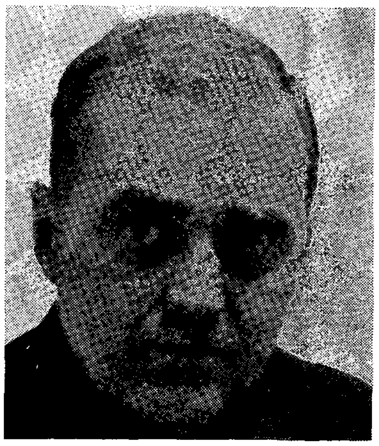
Finally, Moynihan warned liberals to stop trying to excuse everything, "however outrageous," done by blacks. A wave of terrorism was now inevitable; nothing could be done to appease black or white militants. One of Moynihan's proposals for dealing with the crisis was especially striking: "informed conservatives" were needed to preserve order. Moynihan called forthrightly for "the politics of stability."

The Harvard sociologist was not in the vanguard for long. Increasingly in these troubled years, many liberals rediscovered the virtues of order, tradition, and firm standards. In 1971, for instance, in an article significantly entitled "The Limits of Social Policy," Moynihan's colleague Nathan Glazer remarked that "the breakdown of traditional modes of behavior is the chief cause of our social problems" and that "some important part of the solution to our social problems lies in . . . traditional restraints." In the same year, Irving Kristol, a self-styled "conservative liberal," wrote for the *New York Times Magazine* an article entitled "Pornography, Obscenity, and the Case for Censorship," in which he explicitly acknowledged the conservative Straussian scholar Walter Berns's influence on him. "If you think pornography and/or obscenity is a serious problem," he wrote, in a passage Willmoore Kendall would have approved, "you have to be for censorship. I'll go even further and say that if you want to prevent pornography and/or obscenity from becoming a problem, you have to be for censorship. And lest there be any misunderstanding as to what I am saying, I'll put it as bluntly as possible: if you care for the quality of life in our American democracy, you have to be for censorship."

Above all, this new awareness of "conservative" values must be attributed to the fiery, polarizing effects of the "student revolt" in the universities in the late 1960's and early 1970's. As campus after politicized campus exploded in wild confrontations and riots, the need for order, restraint, and standards of excellence seemed ever clearer to at least a segment of the academic community. The universities were under radical attack; professors were forced—as Hart had predicted—to choose; some suddenly found themselves in a "conservative" situation. This is not to say, of course, that the defense of elementary order, academic freedom, professional standards, an open university, and sheer human civility was in any sense the exclusive concern of conservatives. It is to suggest, however, that the very act of protecting these values—the *need* to do so—had a profoundly "conservatizing" effect on many liberal intellectuals. This time the enemy was on the Left.

Elsewhere, too, the trend was evident, as in the University Center for Rational Alternatives, founded in 1969 by Sidney Hook, Oscar Handlin, Lewis Feuer, and a number of other professors anxious to fend off the extremists. While liberal sponsorship of UCRA was clear, especially interesting was the participation of several conservative scholars, including Milton Friedman, Will Herberg, Leo Strauss, and Ernest van den Haag. Here was something new: a *coalition* of conservatives and moderate liberals against the common radical foe. Frank Meyer called Hook's efforts "exemplary."

Fission of the Left



Jeffrey Hart

Meanwhile, certain trends in foreign affairs were simultaneously exerting a "rightward" influence on some liberals. As the Vietnam War divided the Left and undermined Cold War liberal internationalism, at least a few anti-Communist liberals—alienated from their brethren—unexpectedly found sympathetic listeners on the Right. In 1969 Eugene V. Rostow, once a Johnson Administration official, wrote in *National Review* against some "end-the-war" proposals; a year later a commentary on the war by his brother Walt was published in *Human Events*. Toward the end of his life the urbane, acerbic Dean Acheson—once the *bête noire* of many conservatives—was receiving favorable book reviews and approving commentary from *National Review*. Of particular interest was John Roche—a political scientist at Brandeis, former chairman of the A.D.A., and adviser to President Johnson. Roche insisted that his basic world outlook had not changed. He was a John F. Kennedy liberal internationalist in 1961, and he remained one ten years later. Yet (or was it therefore?) in the years after 1968 Roche emerged in his newspaper column as a caustic opponent of student activism and frequent supporter of President Nixon's foreign policies. On one occasion *National Review* reprinted a critique by Roche of the opponents of Vice President Agnew. From time to time, also, conservatives found themselves collaborating loosely with Cold War liberals on such matters as support for anti-ballistic missile development, funding for the Voice of America, and opposition to drastic reduction of the American military presence in Europe.

Back to the Center

In part this tendency toward convergence reflected a subtle change in conservative foreign policy in the early 1970's. While still vigilant about Communism and distressed by its military buildup and expansionist tendencies (as conservatives saw them), the Right no longer spoke very often or very loudly about victory, as many of its leaders had done in the 1950's and early 1960's. There was little serious talk about "liberation" or "rollback" any more. Perhaps in this quiet way the defeat of Goldwater, the Vietnam War, and the foreign policy initiatives of President Nixon made their imprint on the conservative movement. As this tacit shift occurred, conservative foreign policy more and more came to resemble the old liberal policy of containment. Jared Lobdell duly noted that "Mr. Acheson's internationalism (Mr. Truman's internationalism for that matter) is in many ways closer to today's conservative position than to the left-wing isolationism of Eugene McCarthy and his supporters." And so, on foreign policy as on the campus issue, many conservatives found themselves defending what Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. had once called the "vital center." Meanwhile, many liberals—outraged by the Vietnam War, influenced by New Left Cold War revisionist historiography, and anxious to reorder national priorities—appeared (at least to their critics) to be evolving toward "neo-isolationism." In these circumstances, an alliance of conservative and liberal *internationalists* was possible, in the face of the anti-internationalist enemy to the Left.

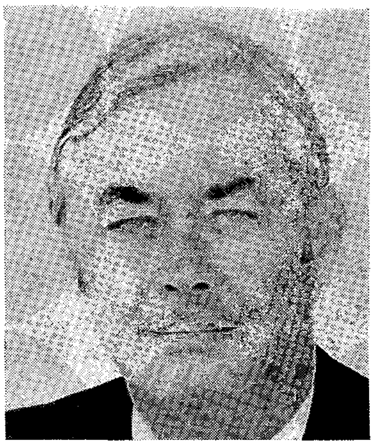
The contours of this alliance developed rapidly in 1972 with the campaign of Senator George McGovern for the Presidency. Faced with a man who admired Henry Wallace, such long-time Cold War liberals as Irving Kristol and Oscar Handlin found themselves supporting President Nixon for re-election. George Meany, one of the staunchest Cold Warriors in the labor movement, vehemently criticized McGovern's views on foreign affairs, while John Roche accused McGovern of "repudiation of the liberal tradition of the past quarter of a century": the South Dakota senator was "a throwback to the liberal isolationists of the 1930's." "I, at least," said Roche, "am proud of the liberal foreign policy formulated by Harry Truman and Dean Acheson."

The student issue and foreign policy were not the only sources of what might be called right-wing liberalism. Of all the factors operating in the late 1960's to produce it, perhaps the most encouraging one for conservatives was the increasing evidence of liberal disillusionment with government and with conventional liberal approaches to social reform. Throughout the decade the conservative "revolt against the state" had acquired new plausibility as it examined, pragmatically, the record of liberal programs. Now many liberals themselves were joining in. In 1967 Richard Goodwin, an adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, lamented the enormous growth of federal power in recent decades and urgently called for decentralization to curb the alarming spread of individual powerlessness and frustration. In his speech to the A.D.A. the same year Daniel Moynihan criticized the belief that the country could be governed from Washington and that "the national government and national politics" were "the primary sources of liberal social innovation." On another occasion—an essay for the *Republican Papers* (Moynihan's appearance in its pages was itself noteworthy)—the Harvard sociologist commented: "Somehow liberals have been unable to acquire from life what conservatives seem to be endowed with at birth, namely, a healthy skepticism of the powers of government agencies to do good."

This was only the beginning. By the decade's end expressions of disenchantment with what Michael Oakeshott called "rationalism in politics" seemed almost commonplace. In 1970 Peter Schrag wrote in dismay:

> It is ten years later, and the great dream has come to an end. We thought we had solutions to everything—poverty, racism, injustice, ignorance; it was supposed to be only a matter of time, of money, of proper programs, of massive assaults . . . it is now clear that the confidence is gone, that many of the things we *knew* no longer seem sure or even probable.

Liberal for stability



Daniel Patrick Moynihan

In terms often reminiscent of Friedrich Hayek's *The Constitution of Liberty*, liberal social scientists and other observers confessed humility and lack of expertise. "We are facing a problem we do not fully understand and certainly do not know how to solve," Moynihan observed. In *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*, he analyzed the numbing failure of the community action program of the War on Poverty; radical activists, liberal reformers, and bureaucrats did not come off particularly well. In essence,

> *A program was launched that was not understood, and not explained, and this brought about social losses that need not have occurred . . . The government did not know what it was doing.* It had a theory. Or, rather, a set of theories. Nothing more.

Moynihan chided his fellow liberals, who "underestimate difficulties, overpromise results, and avoid any evidence of incompatibility and conflict . . ." He did not advocate "immobilism" or even caution but "great care." A few years later Harry Schwartz in the *New York Times* publicized a "law" discovered by Jay W. Forrester of M.I.T.: ". . . in complicated situations efforts to improve things often tend to make them worse, sometimes much worse, on occasion calamitous." Social reform was a complicated situation.

Even worse than that, as the well-known management consultant Peter Drucker argued in 1969, the actual record of government since the 1930's was "dismal." In welfare, agriculture, the urban crisis, and other areas, its policies were failures.

> During the past three decades, federal payments to the big cities have increased almost a hundredfold for all kinds of programs. But results from the incredible dollar flood into the cities are singularly unimpressive. What is impressive is the administrative incompetence. We now have ten times as many government agencies concerned with city problems as we had in 1939.

Government today was big but not strong; in recent times it had been able to do only two things well: "wage war" and "inflate the currency." Government simply was not a "doer," Drucker insisted. His analysis of "the sickness of government" won the enthusiastic attention of William F. Buckley, Jr.

"Revisionist Liberalism"

At the center of this wave of scholarly disillusionment was a journal with a small circulation but a significant readership among the opinion molders and governing classes of America. Founded in 1966 as a venture in "revisionist liberalism," *The Public Interest*, edited by Irving Kristol and sociologist Daniel Bell, soon developed themes and promulgated findings that did not sustain routine liberal assumptions. On pornography, for instance: the journal published in 1971 an article by Walter Berns on "the case for censorship." The piece moved Kristol to observe that this was "a topic we would not have dealt with two or three years ago." Or reapportionment, a source of much optimism among reformers in the early 1960's: surveying the evidence, *The Public Interest* concluded that "most of the great expectations hanging upon reapportionment are going to be dashed." Or the difficulty of reform and the dangers of bureaucratization—two of the journal's most persistent themes. (The "discovery" of bureaucracy was surely one of the key elements in the liberal disillusionment.) Or the turmoil in the universities and "the twilight of authority." On occasion, *The Public Interest* could be stinging in its criticism of liberal leaders. In 1969 Kristol and Paul Weaver, a Harvard political scientist, castigated the allegedly smug U.E.S.S.E. (Upper East Side and Suburban Elite) of New York City. These "cosmopolitan parochials," including the apocalypse-oriented mass media, were incredibly ignorant of the true nature of the city that they arrogantly presumed to guide.

Another increasingly noteworthy forum for disillusioned liberals was *Commentary*, edited by Norman Podhoretz. In the wake of the catastrophic 1967 New York City teachers' strike (which pitted blacks against Jews), in the wake of demands on some campuses for racial quotas (which offended many Jews), in the wake of New Left anti-Semitism and hostility to Israel, many American Jews began to move "Right" at the end of the 1960's. One manifestation of this trend was the evolving position of Podhoretz, whose journal many observers saw as a rival to the radical *New York Review of Books*. By 1971 and 1972, virtually every issue of *Commentary* crackled with at least one "right-wing" liberal analysis of social issues. Articles with significant titles like "The Limits of Social Policy," "Is Busing Necessary?," "Liberty and the Liberals," "Growth and Its Enemies," and "Liberalism vs. Liberal Education." Articles criticizing the allegedly radical bias of the American Civil Liberties Union and the efforts of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to compel universities to hire an equal number of women or lose federal aid. Articles attacking "The Population Controllers" and the proponents of "Apocalyptic Thinking."

By 1972 the increasing conservatism of American Jews, including some Jewish intellectuals, was a topic of interest to pundits, pollsters, and politicians. Reflecting on this trend, Irving Kristol argued that Jews had not, all by themselves, moved to the Right. Rather, the Left had gone Left—"probably the crucial political development of the past fifteen years." Unlike the Old Left, which had been "humanistic," the New Left preached "utter contempt for liberal values." Precisely because Jews remained committed to these liberal values, they were now of necessity becoming "conservative." Kristol concluded with an intriguing speculation: that Jews might give American conservatism "an intellectual vigor and cultural buoyancy it has sadly lacked until now."

The rise of chastened liberalism (especially among social scientists) was paralleled by mounting interest in conservative approaches to reform. In 1966, for example, the Harvard sociologist Christopher Jencks, openly citing Milton Friedman, endorsed the voucher concept for the schools; Friedman quickly hailed his new ally. In 1969 Alan Altshuler, a political scientist at M.I.T., declared:

> Men of the Left have been appropriating principles of the Right (or what used to be such) on a wholesale basis in recent years. That is to say, men devoted to egalitarian ends have come increasingly to appreciate the "conservative" critique of government—at least of government by direct control, as opposed to government by the structuring of market incentives and cash transfers—as an instrument of social policy.

The classic example of this trend, said Altshuler, was the popularity of Friedman's negative income tax proposal. There were others. In 1970 the nation's press publicized a memorandum in which Daniel Moynihan, then an adviser to President Nixon, urged a period of "benign neglect" of the race problem; many well-known liberals were aghast. Their anger only increased when, nearly simultaneously, there appeared a book that seemed almost to encapsulate the new social science: Edward Banfield's *The Unheavenly City*.

Banfield's Bombshell

If ever there were an iconoclastic book, this was it. One observer labeled it "a political scientist's version of Milton Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom*." Indeed, Banfield—yet another Harvard social scientist—was a conservative, a close friend of Friedman's (who read the manuscript before publication), and a former adviser to President Nixon. Banfield systematically challenged a host of prevailing assumptions. It was not true, for instance, that all urban problems were becoming worse, or that a disastrous crisis was impending:

> The plain fact is that the overwhelming majority of city dwellers live more comfortably and conveniently than ever before. . . . There is still much poverty and much racial discrimination. But there is less of both than ever before.

(Of course, he added, constant *talk* about crisis, coupled with soaring expectations, might produce a crisis of a different sort.) It was not true, to take another example, that the position of most blacks would improve if prejudice disappeared; ". . . nonracial factors are more important than racial ones. . . ." Central to Banfield's analysis was the contention that there existed a pathological, disoriented, present-minded "lower class" that was simply not amenable to ordinary reforms and was not about to disappear. Again and again Banfield stressed that urban problems were not going to go away, and that government especially could not expect to improve matters. It had often made them worse. "The import of what has been said in this book is that . . . there are very few problems that can be solved. . . ."

Conservative liberal

Irving Kristol

This did not mean that he counseled despair and indifference. Indeed, he offered twelve proposals of his own. Among them: "Avoid rhetoric tending to raise expectations to unreasonable and unrealizable levels. . . ." Repeal the minimum wage laws and legislation that protects the monopolistic power of labor unions. Lower the school-leaving age to fourteen. Abandon the "elastic" concept of "relative deprivation" as a measure of poverty. Give birth-control advice to the "incompetent poor." Pay "problem families" to send their children to nurseries where they can be introduced into "normal culture." "Confine and treat drug addicts" and punish rioters severely. Banfield candidly acknowledged that his ideas stood little chance of acceptance. Government was more likely to *increase* expectations, to exaggerate the importance of "white racism," and to increase the minimum wage, while powerful "veto groups" (civil rights activists, labor unions, teachers, social workers) would oppose his suggestions. Above all, Banfield believed that he would fail because he was challenging a deep-seated, powerful, and dangerous American ethos: the ethos of upper-middle-class, guilt-ridden, activist liberal reform—the politics of righteous indignation. One of the causes, no doubt, of the outrage that greeted Banfield's book was passages like this:

> The frightening fact is that large numbers of persons are being rapidly assimilated to the upper classes and are coming to have incomes—time as well as money—that permit them to indulge their taste for "service" and doing good in political action . . . Doing good is becoming—has already become—a growth industry, like the other forms of mass entertainment, while righteous indignation and uncompromising allegiance to principle are becoming *the* motives of political commitment.

No conservative could complain that Banfield's book was ignored. Widely, vehemently, sometimes viciously criticized, *The Unheavenly City* rapidly achieved a *succès de scandale*; by 1972 it had sold over 100,000 copies. One conservative reviewer noted that the book was circulated in the White House before the publication date. Not surprisingly, conservatives were virtually the only observers to applaud the book; and they greeted it with delight. It was "a genuine classic and work of genius," Jeffrey Hart declared; Robert Nisbet was equally laudatory. Left and Right seemed to agree that Banfield had prepared a formidable indictment of current orthodoxy. Of special interest was Irving Kristol's evaluation of *The Unheavenly City* as "easily the most enlightening book that has been written about the 'urban crisis' in the U.S." But perhaps Kristol's welcome of the conservative scholar's book no longer seems so unusual. For Banfield in 1970 was already part of a widening circle that included Kristol, Glazer, Moynihan, James Q. Wilson, and other contributors to *The Public Interest*. Once more the ideological lines were blurring as dissenting professors converged in scholarly opposition to the "enemy" on the Left.

At this point a caveat may be in order. The phenomenon of "right-wing" liberalism should not be equated with *National Review* conservatism. Some of the people discussed here continued to regard themselves as liberals, and Daniel Moynihan's ideas on welfare (reflected in President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan) were definitely not popular with many conservatives. Nevertheless, as the phenomenon intensified, there were more and more indications that a momentous intellectual realignment was taking place in the early 1970's. In 1972 James Burnham suggested that while disillusioned liberalism was still in a "transitional state," it was "bound to develop further into a more integral outlook"—although not necessarily into conventional conservatism, much of which was itself obsolescent.

It began to appear that the principal figure in the developing realignment might well be Irving Kristol. The June 1972 issue of *The Alternative*, for instance, contained four articles about him, including tributes by Nathan Glazer and William F. Buckley, Jr. Buckley declared that Kristol was "writing more sense in the public interest these days than anybody I can think of." In a perceptive analysis Robert Bartley, associate editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, contended that Kristol and his journal were forging an "alliance of empirical social scientists and classical political philosophers" into a "neo-conservative" movement including such men as Herman Kahn and Leo Strauss. This "neo-conservatism," said Bartley, avoided the sometimes doctrinaire laissez-faire purism and "apocalyptic anti-Communism" of the older Right. It addressed the most profound questions America faced in the 1970's:

> Intellectually, the neo-conservative themes *are* the central themes of our time. The collapse of values. The place of tradition in a time of change. The need not only for outward material progress but for the inner satisfaction of living in

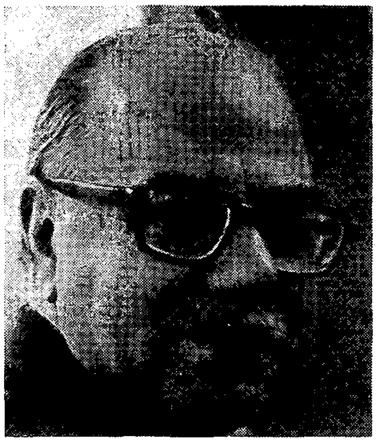
> what seems to be a proper society. The place of an intellectual elite in a nation where, *The Public Interest* is careful to tell us, only 11% of adults have completed four years of college.

Perhaps, he ventured, the most remarkable event in the intellectual history of the 1960's would turn out to be "the evolution of a new and newly relevant conservatism."

In 1972 Kristol published a collection of essays which promised to be one of the most significant books of the 1970's. In the preface to *On the Democratic Idea in America*, Kristol acknowledged his deep debt to Lionel Trilling and Leo Strauss; the influence of classical political philosophy was apparent in every chapter. The subject of his book was simply stated:

> the tendency of democratic republics to depart from . . . their original, animating principles, and as a consequence to precipitate grave crises in the moral and political order.
>
> In the United States, these original principles firmly linked popular government to a fair measure of self-government (i.e., self-discipline) on the part of the individual citizen. The departure from these principles has taken the form of a "liberation" of personal and collective selves—a freeing of self-interests, personal aspirations, private fantasies—in the realms of economics, politics, education, and culture. It is assumed, on the basis of various benign theories about human nature and human history, that the actions of self-serving men will coalesce into a common good, and that the emancipation of the individual from social restraints will result in a more perfect community. I do think that, within limits, the notion of the "hidden hand" has its uses in the marketplace. . . . I believe the results are disastrous when it is extended to the polity as a whole, which can go bankrupt only once, and whose destiny is finally determined by the capacity of its citizenry to govern its passions and thereby rightly understand its enduring common interests.

In the public interest



Daniel Bell

Again and again, in a manner similar to the traditionalist New Conservatives, Kristol condemned the relativism, the nihilism, the do-your-own-thing ethos rising in the land: "Self-government, the basic principle of this republic, is inexorably being eroded in favor of self-seeking, self-indulgence, and just plain aggressive selfishness."

Fearlessly challenging libertarian assumptions, Kristol urged, among other things, a discreet censorship of pornography. Democracy depends on values and on the character of those who try to govern themselves. It depends on what the Founding Fathers labeled "republican virtue," which we should strive to preserve: "if you care for the quality of life in our American democracy, you have to be for censorship." In a way reminiscent of Kendall, Kristol contrasted America's "transcendentalist populism," her streak of flatulent utopianism, with the prudent, tempered democratic *philosophy* of the Founding Fathers. Frequently he scourged America's intellectuals—a growing "mass movement" with inordinate and alarming pretensions. Always he beckoned to a public philosophy, a *good* society, a civilization that could resolutely answer "the ultimate subversive question: 'Why not?'"

As Hart had prophesied, in the late 1960's many barriers between the moderate Left and the moderate Right came tumbling down. In 1970 Frank Meyer argued that if liberalism was now "moribund," "not a small part of the cause has been the growing strength of conservatism. . . ." This was no doubt an overstatement. For while conservatism was in fact gaining strength, it was not the body of conservative thought as such but the larger pressures of reality which were independently propelling many liberals to the Right. Still, it is important to recognize that, as polarization deepened, the conservative alternative was already there.

★ II *Conservatism Arrives*

The year 1970, a year of disasters on the campuses and fears of national disintegration, was also a year of symbolic success for the conservative intellectual movement. It saw the stunning election of William F. Buckley's brother James to the United States Senate from the very citadel of liberalism, New York. It saw the Young Americans for Freedom celebrate its tenth anniversary; an organization of fewer than one hundred members in William F. Buckley's living room in 1960 now had more than 50,000. YAF had become, in the words of its magazine, *New Guard*, "the largest non-party political action organization in the country." In 1970 also, *National Review*, with more than 100,000 subscribers, celebrated its fifteenth birthday. While the anniversary issue of *National Review* that year was preoccupied with the uncertain national destiny, one of the essays did find much to celebrate. Surveying the variety and volume of contemporary conservative thought, Peter Witonski, a young conservative historian, discerned "the growing intellectual maturity of the conservative movement, as well as *NR*'s influence on that movement. Conservative writers and writings are no longer just something to hope for; they are here for us to read."

In this latter observation Witonski was undoubtedly correct. By the early 1970's the production of explicitly conservative literature was soaring. Libertarianism, traditionalism, and anti-Communism—the fundamental constituent elements of postwar conservative thought—continued to find expression in scholarly books. Of particular note was the increasing number of conservative analyses of turmoil in the Christian churches. A few conservative books, including Edward Banfield's *The Unheavenly City* and works by William F. Buckley, Jr., became bestsellers. There was renewed interest in Albert Jay Nock. Both in books and in periodicals conservatives continued to explore their varied tradition; in 1970 and 1971 alone three anthologies of conservative thought were published.

Conservatives were heartened by their success in disseminating their ideas. *National Review*, *Modern Age*, *The Intercollegiate Review*, and *The Alternative* continued to churn out a vast, respectable literature. Another sign of health was the Washington-based *Human Events*. Its circulation had grown from 127 at its founding in 1944 to over 100,000 twenty years later. Under the editorship of Thomas Winter, *Human Events* grew rapidly in prestige in the late 1960's and became in the Nixon years perhaps the most influential conservative journal in the Washington political community. Week by week it covered politics and served as a medium for the growing number of syndicated conservative columnists. In fact, the movement was especially blessed with columnists, including not only the pre-eminent William F. Buckley, Jr., but also John Chamberlain, Jeffrey Hart, James J. Kilpatrick, Russell Kirk, Kevin Phillips, George F. Will, and many others. The Conservative Book Club continued to distribute its offerings at a robust rate to its 30,000 members, while the Hoover Institution in California and the American Enterprise Institute (a respected conservative-leaning "think tank" in Washington, D.C.) published studies by conservative scholars. The American Conservative Union, founded in the aftermath of the Goldwater debacle, became by the early 1970's an effective Washington lobby with 60,000 members supporting its expanding activities.

Even the television networks—long the objects of conservative wrath—seemed to be opening their doors a bit to conservative spokesmen. Three articulate right-wing journalists—M. Stanton Evans, Jeffrey St. John, and James J. Kilpatrick—became commentators on the CBS *Spectrum* series. The public television debate series, *The Advocates*, featured Left-Right confrontations on contemporary issues, with William Rusher of *National Review* and J. Daniel Mahoney (chairman of the Conservative Party of New York) frequently defending the conservative side. And there was that urbane evangelist, the versatile personification of conservatism, William F. Buckley, Jr.; it is difficult to imagine what (or where) the movement would have been without this gifted popularizer. In 1969 his *Firing Line* won the Television Academy Award for "outstanding program achievement." A year later Will Herberg rejoiced:

> . . . today the tables are turned . . . In bringing about this reversal, no one in this country has been more effective than William F. Buckley, Jr. . . .

★ II *The Age of Total Revolt*

Clearly the upheavals of the 1960's were benefiting both libertarians and traditionalists. The wave of skepticism about government was generating renewed interest in the Chicago school and was helping to sustain the substantial influence of Milton Friedman. Peter Drucker labeled Friedman's suggestion that the economy be regulated by an automatic, fixed, annual expansion of the money supply "the most radical proposal in economics since Adam Smith. . . ." The ability of libertarians to devise specific proposals for public policy also contributed to their continuing impact. In 1972 the Mont Pelerin Society celebrated its 25th anniversary; John Chamberlain claimed that it "could look back to some very considerable victories." One of the most pleasant (and, for conservatives, most unexpected) came in 1974, when Friedrich Hayek was named a co-recipient of the Nobel Prize for economics. To exultant libertarians, it was a symbolic recognition of their increasing respectability and influence.

The conservative consensus

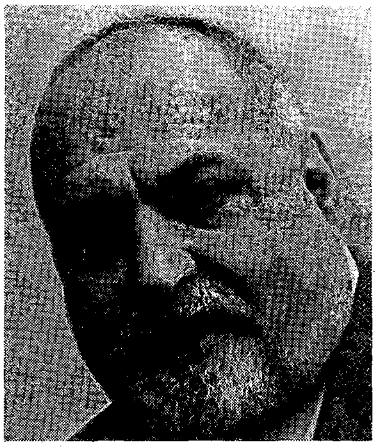
Peter P. Witonski

Yet as Russell Kirk, Robert Nisbet, Leo Strauss, Irving Kristol, and many others taught, the crisis penetrated to far deeper levels of human behavior than the economic. In the late 1960's the "revolt against the state" merged with a broader phenomenon: a revolt against custom and authority—in the Roman Catholic Church, in Academe, in racial and sexual mores, in every sphere, it seemed, of American society. Suddenly, words like tradition, order, authority, restraint, duty, morality, and community seemed to many Americans to address the truly basic perplexities of the time. Irving Kristol believed that beneath the pervasive rhetoric of "liberation" and "equality" lay "an acute yearning for order and stability." In addition, the proliferation of what conservatives deemed "gnostic" movements drove many right-wing intellectuals to defend more staunchly than ever the Voegelinian "constitution of being" against its utopian foes. The massiveness of radical negations (extending to assaults on family structure, private property, and the very ideals of objectivity and rationality) produced traditionalist replies at equally fundamental levels. Kristol was but one conservative on whom the writings of Leo Strauss continued to exert a compelling influence. William F. Buckley, Jr. regarded Strauss as "unquestionably one of the most influential teachers of his age."

Paralleling these intellectual trends were auspicious developments in politics. In 1969, for the first time since their postwar revival began, conservatives had access to the Presidency. Richard Nixon, a self-styled "Disraeli conservative," was a friend of such conservatives as Russell Kirk and an admirer of Kirk's book *A Program for Conservatives*. A number of right-wing scholars found niches, at least for a time, in Nixon's Administration: Arthur Burns at the Federal Reserve Board, Warren Nutter at the Defense Department, Richard V. Allen (of the Hoover Institution) on the staff of Henry Kissinger, Martin Anderson (author of *The Federal Bulldozer*) on the White House staff, to name some of the most prominent. William F. Buckley, Jr. received an appointment to an advisory commission to the United States Information Agency. Some of Vice President Spiro Agnew's young speechwriters were conservatives, including John Coyne, who left *National*

Review in 1971 to work for the Vice President for a time. Agnew became a conservative hero.

Turning the tables



Will Herberg

This unprecedented political leverage did not, however, prevent conservatives from becoming disenchanted with President Nixon, a disenchantment that rapidly deepened in 1971 and 1972. In domestic affairs, many (but not all) conservative intellectuals were disturbed by Nixon's apparent leftward drift and opportunism, signified by huge budget deficits, wage and price controls, expanding bureaucracy, and the Family Assistance Plan. Even more alarming were his China policy, his cultivation of what one writer called "the illusion of *détente*," and—above all—"his failure to call public attention to the deteriorated American military position," which conservatives viewed as gravely and steadily weakening. Accordingly, on July 26, 1971, Buckley, Burnham, Meyer, and several other prominent conservatives "suspended their support" of the Administration. The American Conservative Union and many right-wing publicists and scholars endorsed the protest candidacy of Representative John Ashbrook for President early in 1972. While almost all eventually supported Nixon for re-election, M. Stanton Evans expressed a rather widespread sentiment that summer when he declared that the Nixon years "have not been especially happy ones" for the Right.

But there were conservative victories, too—particularly the Supreme Court appointments—and in the early Nixon years American conservatives believed they had achieved an intellectual and political breakthrough. With new confidence they rejoiced that they had "made it." "Conservatism has become of age," Stephen Tonsor announced in 1969:

> Out of power, rejected even by the party to which every natural and unreflecting conservative belonged, without major financial support and denied access to the public by the monopoly the establishment maintained in the academy, the churches, and the news media, conservatism made itself heard because it has the arguments and it has the men.

The veteran journalist John Chamberlain agreed: "The great story of our age is that of the conservative counterculture's success in making a new climate for itself."

Reflecting this perceived change in status was an intriguing change in conservative rhetoric. In the 1940's and 1950's conservatism had often appeared to be, in Clinton Rossiter's phrase, a "thankless persuasion," and the rhetoric of the Right reflected its seemingly forlorn minority status. Some conservatives sought solace in Nock's concept of the Remnant and spoke of the need to "stand athwart history, yelling Stop." *National Review* even questioned the wisdom of universal suffrage in the South; in 1961 William F. Buckley, Jr. labeled universal suffrage "a mockery of true democracy." The spirit of Mencken, of an aristocratic revolt against the masses, noticeably affected the early issues of *National Review*. In the early 1960's, with the advent of Barry Goldwater, conservatism's minority consciousness started to fade. Still, its rhetoric remained that of an embattled losing side. "Twenty-seven million Americans can't be wrong," proclaimed bumper stickers after Goldwater's defeat. Defiant language, yes, but not the language of victory.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, however, this older rhetoric, while not dead, was supplanted by an optimistic new theme: that conservatives were no longer pariahs but the voice of the "silent majority" of the American people. Early in 1970 Arlington House announced itself in advertisements as the publisher "for the silent majority." In 1970 Barry Goldwater published *The Conscience of a Majority*. "I am the voice of the new politics," Senator-elect James Buckley said exultantly on election night in 1970.

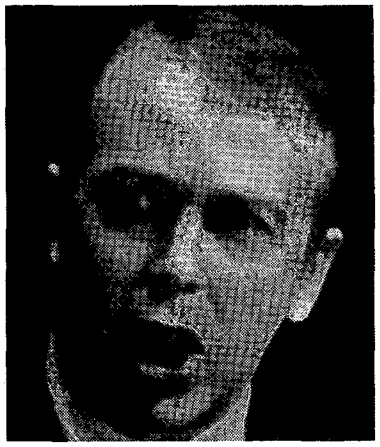
As most conservatives became fervently convinced that America as a whole was still healthy and that only an elite was decadent, there emerged what Kevin Phillips aptly labeled "populist conservatism." "Middle America is the last heir of Western civilization," Frank Meyer thundered in 1971. It was thus no coincidence that there was renewed interest in that Oklahoma celebrant of the virtuous people, Willmoore Kendall, many of whose writings were gathered into one volume in 1971. It was no coincidence that James Burnham criticized "verbalists" and admired the heartland. Conservatives had no illusions that as an intellectual movement they had swept all before them. Nor did talk of "populism" mean that they embraced the principal "populist" in the land: George Wallace. But they were more confident than ever before that "the people" could now be reached.

★ II *Nagging Tensions*

And yet nagging internal tensions remained. On the fringes, Bozell, Rothbard, and their respective camps were active, revealing the fissures that never disappeared. Ayn Rand had a devoted following and in 1967 *National Review* censured her as it had ten years before. In 1971 Peter Viereck, long self-exiled from most of the Right, zestfully denounced "rightist touts" and authoritarians who, in his view, were not conservative at all. Closer to the actual center of the movement, perennial controversies lingered on. There was the persistent claim that America was really a liberal country. There was the recurrent problem of determining the limits of the capitalist model: on one occasion William F. Buckley, Jr. even chastised Milton Friedman and his son for tending to make laissez-faire a "dogmatic theology." There was the still-felt need, in some quarters, to demonstrate that Christian morality and the free market were really compatible. From time to time the old question of defining the American conservative tradition (and the place of Lincoln in it) aroused controversy. Conservatives also disagreed about the extent to which Continental conservatism was relevant to the New World. Libertarians and traditionalists clashed on such issues as pornography, censorship, and the legalization of certain drugs; should marijuana, for example, be "decriminalized"? Old disputes never died; they faded and then reappeared.

How important were these differences? Was conservatism merely an ill-assorted temporary coalition, or was there substantial common ground? In 1971 Donald Atwell Zoll bluntly attacked Frank Meyer's fusionism: ". . . he confuses expedient eclecticism with compatible integration." The divisions on the Right, said Zoll, were too deep to justify "ecumenism." Similarly, Robert Nisbet doubted that conservatives (so much more individualistic than the "homogeneous" liberals) could create a lasting movement out of the current unstable coalition. Publisher Devin Garrity believed that the movement was dividing into "traditionalism" and "anarchism."

In defense of conservatism



M. Stanton Evans

On the other hand, many influential right-wing intellectuals deeply believed that there was a consensus—and that Frank Meyer had proven it. "No single man's efforts to make it [the "instinctive consensus"] survive have counted more than Frank Meyer's," said Buckley in 1969. Peter Witonski claimed that "a conservative consensus does exist . . . We are all libertarians; we are all traditionalists." M. Stanton Evans, a devout fusionist, insisted that a "continuum" existed among conservatives, despite obvious disagreements and dissimilar preoccupations. Whatever the philosophical validity of these men's position, the historically noteworthy fact was that so many conservatives clearly thought that common ground existed. Fusionism in fact *was* the conservative consensus, Buckley observed.

Obviously many wanted to believe that this was so. At times one senses such a desire in the outpouring of tributes to Frank Meyer which *National Review* printed in 1972. A few hours before he died on April 1, 1972, Frank Meyer—the ardent, argumentative libertarian as well as one of the formative personal influences on the conservative revival—became a member of the Roman Catholic Church. For many conservatives, one suspects, his conversion was the great symbolic reconciliation, the ultimate "fusion."

How, then, shall we resolve the question? First, on a purely philosophical or "ideological" level, American conservatism did not speak with a single voice. It had never done so and probably never would. There was a continuing gap between the traditionalist ethos of self-restraint, of limits on will, and the libertarian ethos of self-assertion, self-cultivation, and resistance to the state. There was at least a rhetorical gap between a journal devoted to the "public interest" and a libertarianism that was suspicious of the very idea of "public interest" and the "social responsibility" of business. "It is very hard," Irving Kristol observed, "to be for tradition . . . and at the same time to celebrate the unqualified virtues of individualism." Much of the New Conservatism of the 1950's and beyond sought to articulate a "public philosophy." At the heart of much of libertarianism was a "private philosophy" and the wish to be let alone. This wish was evident in the greatest popular symbol of postwar conservatism: William F. Buckley, Jr.

II *Holding It Together*

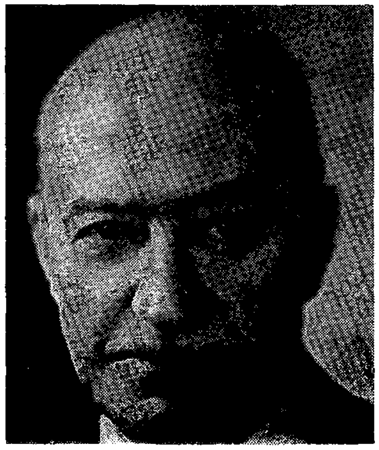
As a Roman Catholic, as a disciple of Nock, Kendall, Chambers, and Kirk, Buckley embodied not only the libertarian brand of conservatism but traditionalism and anti-Communism as well. Nevertheless, it was the libertarian ethos that decisively influenced Buckley's style. For despite his public reputation as a celebrity and sword-bearer for the Right, despite the wit and elegance that helped to make him a public figure, deep down, one suspects, Buckley did not really seek or cherish the "firing line." Rather, his was a role which the unwelcome tides of history had compelled him to accept. His public appearances were often marked by a certain aristocratic reserve, which some thought was hauteur—an aloofness, even at times a sense of resignation, which some mistook for arrogance or conceit. In 1970 Buckley told conservatives that they must teach "the need for superordinating the private vision over the public vision." A few years before, he had spoken with heartfelt conviction about the conservative's plight in the modern age:

> Politics, it has been said, is the preoccupation of the quarter-educated, and I do most solidly endorse that observation, and therefore curse this century above all things for its having given all sentient beings very little alternative than to occupy themselves with politics.

He deplored "this century's most distinctive aggression, which is against privacy, publicly understood." He resented the absence of alternatives to taking the heat in Harry Truman's famous kitchen.

Conservatism was obviously no monolith. Yet to dwell exclusively on its various internal differences is to miss much—perhaps the essence—of the matter. The truly remarkable fact was that most conservatives managed with ease to remain united and cooperative. Rent by disagreements as the movement (like any movement) was, said Thomas Molnar, it was still effective in action. On practical day-to-day issues there was a surprising degree of convergence on the Right (except for its furthest fringes). Thus, Russell Kirk—a traditionalist through and through—was a proponent of the voucher plan and the volunteer army. Both libertarians and traditionalists opposed urban renewal—though not always for the same reasons. Some of the most perceptive comments on this subject came from John Chamberlain, the pro-capitalist libertarian author. Chamberlain found no practical quarrel between religious and nonreligious conservatives; both shared a common morality.

Nor was it difficult to find areas of agreement with someone like Russell Kirk, whose "traditions" and prescriptions harmonized nicely with Chamberlain's "principles." Many of the "fights" disappeared, he noted, when conservatives moved from "first principles" to "first practices." Another libertarian luminary, Henry Hazlitt, whose early idols had included John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, found himself writing in 1971 an article "In Defense of Conformity" in terms that traditionalists could applaud. Hazlitt had always considered himself a libertarian, but now he adhered also to a conservatism that taught: "Let us change our moral codes, our laws, our political institutions, when we find this to be necessary, but let us do so cautiously, gradually, piecemeal. . . ." Hazlitt denounced the destructive cult of "dissent" and proclaimed the necessity for "prevailing conformity" in order to achieve "mutual cooperation" and "genuine progress." Without "basic conformity" in such areas as manners, morals, and speech, "civilized society could hardly survive." And always, as an example of conservatism's unity as well as its diversity, there was William F. Buckley, Jr.—a diplomat who did much, especially in the early years, to hold the movement together.



Libertarian
for
conformity

Henry
Hazlitt

Perhaps, on closer inspection, the divergent emphases of the movement were more intimately related than some realized. Both libertarians and traditionalists evinced, for instance, a strong distrust of "intellectuals"—a point on which everyone from Hayek to Kristol could agree. Hayek and Kirk both preached the gospel of humility and opposition to presumptuous rationalism. All shared a revulsion against "gnosticism" and utopian "social engineering," and had a sense of the complexity of the social order. None worshipped the state, although their formulations and policies differed. Libertarians reacted against the state as a threat to individual liberty and economic progress. Traditionalists, sharing much of this critique, also reacted against the total state as an expression of the collapse of moral and spiritual authority. "Society," said Burke (and traditionalists echoed him), "cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without." Anti-Communists reacted against the state in its most despotic and ominous contemporary forms—the Soviet Union and China.

One could go on, but the point is clear. There was a fascinating heterogeneity in conservative thought, yet most right-wing intellectuals readily agreed on certain fundamental "prejudices" which they articulated and refined in many different ways: a presumption (of varying intensities) in favor of private property and a free enterprise economy; opposition to Communism, socialism, and utopian schemes of all kinds; support of strong national defense; belief in Christianity or Judaism (or at least the utility of such belief); acceptance of traditional morality and the need for an inelastic moral code; hostility to positivism and relativism; a "gut affirmation" of the goodness of America and the West. This is a brief and partial list, but at least an approximation of the constituent elements of the working conservative consensus.

★ **II** *Along the Precipice*

And so, with the greatest opportunity of their lives before them, conservatives faced the future. The past had often been bitter, and conservatives had long been conditioned to accept defeat. Writing in his diary in December 1970, William F. Buckley, Jr. described himself as "a conservative grown up in the knowledge that victories are not for us." Perhaps he was remembering the haunting words Whittaker Chambers once wrote to him:

> Those who remain in the world, if they will not surrender on its terms, must maneuver within its terms. That is what conservatives must decide: how much to give in order to survive at all; how much to give in order not to give up the basic principles. And, of course, that results in a dance along a precipice. Many will drop over, and, always, the cliff dancers will hear the screaming curses of those who fall, or be numbed by the sullen silence of those, nobler souls perhaps, who will not join in the dance.

Maturity and opportunity did not ensure success. In the fall of 1971, William Rusher observed that while the "product" of conservatism was substantial, its "impact" was still small. Frank Meyer acknowledged that the conservative movement had not yet had a profound influence on American life and had not taken control of the country. Its major contribution remained the critique of liberalism. Thomas Molnar agreed. Conservatives had succeeded in presenting an alternative to the country; they had brought "new colors" to the American scene; but they had not yet triumphed. Progress had been made, of course. Twenty years before, said Robert Nisbet, Academe had regarded many conservatives as "bizarre." Now, many of the New Conservative positions of the 1950's were accepted, even commonplace. Still, conservatives knew—and painful was their knowledge—that among intellectuals they remained a minority.

As President Nixon's first term came to a close, and well before the advent of the demoralizing Watergate scandal, there were signs that the conservative intellectual movement was in "drift" and that a crucial period of soul-searching was in the offing. Shortly after the election of 1972, political analyst Kevin Phillips addressed his fellow conservatives, many of whom were alarmed by the policies of the President. Conservatives, he argued, had won the elections of 1968, 1970, and 1972, but these had turned out to be negative and inconclusive victories, mere repudiations of the Left. If the Right was to achieve the decisive breakthrough that was possible, it must recognize that "the fulcrum of ideological gain is not adherence to classic conservatism, but rather hostility toward the emerging liberal elite of amorality-activists and social-change merchants. . . ." The Right must stop harping on such "wrong issues" as wage-price controls or the President's visits to Moscow and Peking. Above all, it must become "activist" and "positive."

Was this prescription valid? Each element in the conservative movement had much thinking to do. Consider the libertarians. Could they imaginatively hold off the burgeoning bureaucratic state and what William F. Buckley, Jr. once called the "passion to centralize"? Helped by "the happy accident of massive federal failures," could they convincingly prove to millions their assertion of the superiority of the free enterprise system? Could the Banfield/Kristol/*Public Interest* social scientists convert their skepticism about government efforts to Do Good (as Banfield put it) into a workable alternative approach?

Consider the traditionalists. In an increasingly nomadic, pluralistic, and hedonistic country, could the New Conservative themes, however relevant, be made the basis of effective action? (Here the libertarians had an advantage: their principles, so oriented to economics, were easily convertible into policy proposals.) What role, if any, should government play in preserving the nation's spiritual health? Could the conservative case for authority, morals, tradition, and truth be translated into popular *acceptance* of authority, morals, tradition, and truth? Or had the decline of the West gone too far? Could the "gnostic" intellectuals be contained? Could "the wisdom of conservatism" be articulated not only to Chambers' Marine on the beach of Tarawa but to the generation that had grown up with the war in Vietnam?

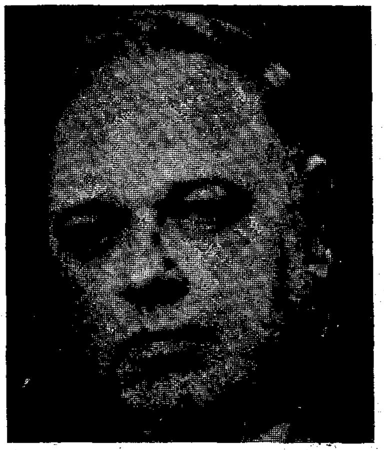
★ II *The Future of the West*

Particularly problematic was the future of anti-Communism. What would happen to the movement if its greatest unifying force disintegrated? Most conservatives no doubt still believed that Communism was evil and a menace to the West. Yet, as the President's trip to China, the SALT agreements, anti-Vietnam War sentiment, and expanding East-West trade demonstrated, the tide of policy and public opinion seemed to be running against the traditional conservative posture. How would the Right respond to this uncongenial situation? Suppose, for instance, that conservatives turned out to be correct about Communism and that the clouds of fate lowered over a weary America in the 1970's. Could conservatives rally the nation in time? Suppose that conservatives were wrong about the Communist threat and that a "multipolar" world had replaced the stark simplicities of yesteryear. Could a movement that was so much a product of the Cold War survive the end of the Cold War (if it had ended)? Could conservatism fall back to a hard-headed, neo-Metternichian, balance-of-power strategy, as James Burnham seemed to be counseling? Was America, was democracy itself, stable and patient enough for this kind of foreign policy to succeed?

Conservatives were living in a revolutionary age, and the pleasant new sensation of victories at the polls could not dispel their disquieting perception of this fact. If "the revolution" ever succeeds in conquering the United States and the Roman Catholic Church, Thomas Molnar predicted, "then the West is finished." The very fact that conservatives could think in such terms showed how deep the chasm seemed to be.

How tempting it was and would continue to be to succumb to the nihilist's siren call: "Why not?" All values are relative—*why not?* God is dead and everything is permitted—*why not?* America and the West are no better than Communist Russia and China—*why not?* When terrorists at home and abroad demand capitulation—*why not?* Because, answered American conservatives, we *stand* for certain things—the "permanent things"—which transcend us and which we must defend lest our civilization collapse utterly. Willmoore Kendall said it forcefully:

Maneuvering within the world



Whittaker Chambers

> Survival, in itself, is *not* the highest value; on the *contrary*: under the ethos of Western civilization as revealed to us by that civilization's central teaching, survival is a relatively *low* value; above it, for example, ranks truth; above it also, for example, ranks beauty; above it, far above it, ranks justice, and along with justice true religion; above it finally . . . ranks *freedom*, and along with freedom those processes of rational deliberation and discussion . . . that we know to be the characteristic features of truly civil society.

In 1965 William F. Buckley, Jr., in a moment of sober reflection, declared:

> It is undoubtedly necessary, every now and then, to bare one's teeth; and we do so, preferably, in the course of smiling. But the smiles have a way of freezing, as the sadness rolls in. The joys of warmaking [for conservative causes] presuppose the eventual stillness of victory: and that, so far as I can see, is beyond our reach. Perhaps it was meant to be so.

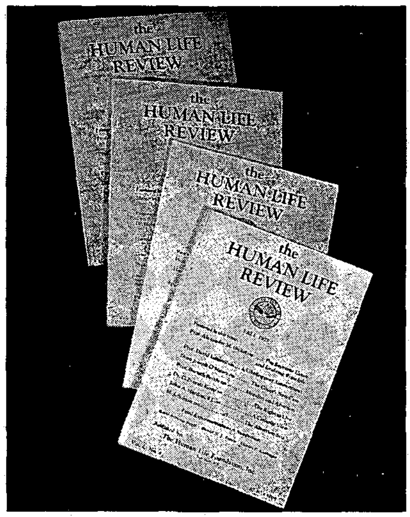
Perhaps. But one *must* resist—this was a conservative lesson, too. For the drama was not over. Conservatism—and America—were still in "the middle of the journey." By the early 1970's conservatives had finally won an opportunity. But an opportunity to do what? In his last letter to Buckley, Whittaker Chambers wrote that "each age finds its own language for an eternal meaning." Here was the challenge: to defend enduring truths in a language appealing to America in the 1970's. If this was not a lost cause, it was never a gained cause, either.

In an endeavor so ambitious, conservatives would often need to recall the words of Robert Frost:

Ah, when to the heart of man
Was it ever less than a treason
To go with the drift of things . . . ?

□

Find Out for Yourself About this Valuable NEW PUBLICATION!



The Current Issue of The Human Life Review Gives You 4 Important Articles on the Supreme Court's Abortion Decisions — and Much, Much More. Get Your Copy Now!

The Human Life Review is a new, independent quarterly publication that is now regularly publishing some of the finest articles you'll find anywhere today on issues that are of vital concern to everybody. Abortion, Euthanasia, experimentation on living subjects, the care of the aged, the right to life (and death), the spreading effects of the U.S. Supreme Court's rulings, the Population Crisis, the morality of abortion — all these and many other "life" issues are now covered regularly by this vital journal — a new and completely *different* publication that demands attention from all those concerned about the kind of America their children will live in.

Here is a partial listing of those who have appeared in the first four issues of The Human Life Review:

Prof. Alexander M. Bickel
Prof. Baruch Brody
Harold O. J. Brown
Senator James L. Buckley
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
Prof. Robert M. Byrn
Senator Thomas F. Eagleton
Dr. Helmut E. Ehrhardt
Prof. John Hart Ely
John A. Hardon, S. J.
Dr. André E. Hellegers
Margot Hentoff
Eugene Ionesco
Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits
Prof. Charles P. Kindregan
Dr. C. Everett Koop
Gen. Thomas A. Lane
Dr. Stanislaw Lembrych
Prof. C. Eric Lincoln
Bishop Per Lønning
Prof. David W. Louisell
Prof. John W. Montgomery
Malcolm Muggeridge
Prof. John T. Noonan
Dean Joseph O'Meara
Hon. Norman St. John-Stevas
Prof. Martin H. Scharlemann
Rabbi Seymour Siegal
M. J. Sobran
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn

You may now order one or all of the first four issues simply by using the coupon below. **Here is a brief description of each:**

#1 Winter 1975: A wide-ranging discussion of abortion, birth control and "the Catholic issue" question, featuring Sen. James L. Buckley, Prof. John T. Noonan, Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits and Dr. André E. Hellegers and others.

#2 Spring 1975: Protestant views on abortion and euthanasia; an in-depth analysis of what an anti-abortion constitutional amendment would mean, plus two important articles (by Margot Hentoff and M. J. Sobran) on the social implications of legalized abortion.

#3 Summer 1975: Articles on the population crisis, the West German Supreme Court's abortion decisions, and a "Firing Line" transcript with Wm. F. Buckley Jr., plus articles by Malcolm Muggeridge, Eugene Ionesco, Harold O. J. Brown and Bishop Per Lønning.

#4 Fall 1975: A four-part discussion of the U.S. Supreme Court's abortion decisions and a symposium on fetal experimentation; excerpts from three important new books by Prof. Alexander M. Bickel, John A. Hardon, S.J., and Prof. Baruch Brody.

All four 1975 issues available now (while supply lasts) for just $10 postpaid.

USE THIS COUPON TODAY.

The Human Life Foundation, Inc. • *150 East 35th Street* • *New York, N.Y. 10016*

Gentlemen:
I want to receive copies of The Human Life Review as indicated below, thank you.

______ copies of the first (Winter) issue.
______ copies of the second (Spring) issue.
______ copies of the third (Summer) issue.
______ copies of the current (Fall) issue.

All copies $2.50 each. Please enclose payment with order — we will pay all postage and shipping charges involved, and will send your copies immediately by return mail.

I enclose $________ ($2.50 each) for the copies indicated above. (Thank you.)

Please make all checks payable to: The Human Life Foundation, Inc. Thank you.

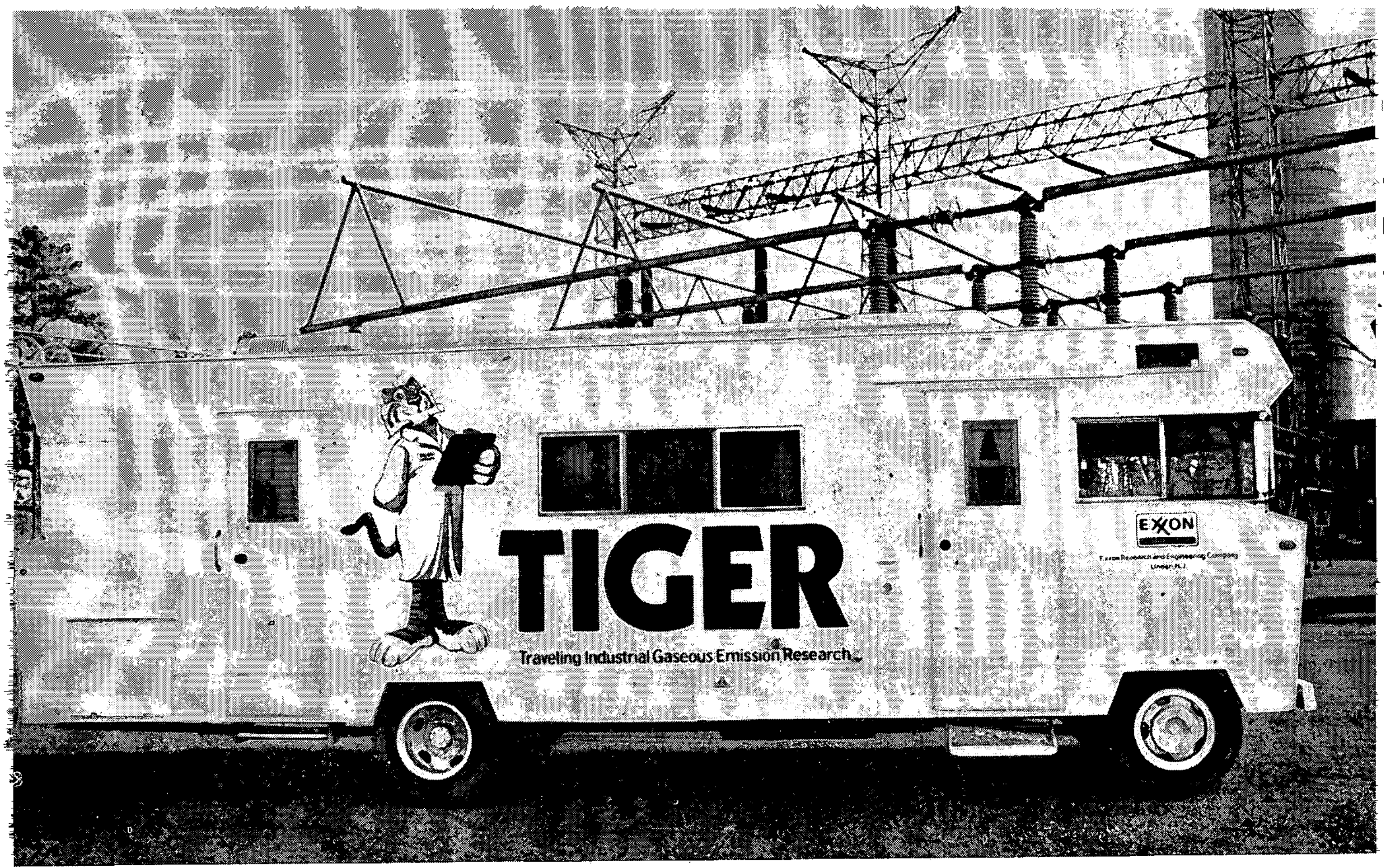
Name ______________________

Address ______________________

City ____________ State ________ ZIP ________

The Human Life Review is a publication of The Human Life Foundation, Inc., an independent, non-profit, non-sectarian organization established in 1974 (and incorporated in the State of New York for educational and charitable purposes). All inquiries about the Foundation and its programs may be directed to:

J. P. McFadden, President
The Human Life Foundation, Inc.
150 East 35th Street
New York, New York 10016



This rolling research lab is helping America take advantage of an energy source that's been around for years.

The energy resource is coal. Right now, our country has nearly one-third of the world's coal reserves. This is twice the energy of Middle Eastern oil reserves.

However, burning coal presents some potential environmental problems. One of these is from pollutants known as oxides of nitrogen or "NOx" emissions.

Research against pollution.

To help industry and electric utilities reduce these pollutants, the U. S. Government awarded a research contract to Exxon Research and Engineering—a company with many years of experience in the science of burning fossil fuels.

This research is intended to help operators of electric power generating plants burn coal more cleanly. It will also help equipment manufacturers design new power plant boilers which will produce less pollution in the future.

The TIGER Van.

To help collect the data needed, Exxon designed and built the rolling research lab you see above.

It's called the "Traveling Industrial Gaseous Emission Research" vehicle—nicknamed "TIGER" van by the Exxon researchers who operate it.

Traveling from power plant to power plant, the TIGER van conducts on-site tests.

The five-man team of Exxon engineers and technicians aboard the van uses sophisticated probes to look inside power plant boilers and stacks. These probes collect emission samples and send them back to the TIGER van where they are analyzed and recorded.

The data is used to test new and different methods of burning coal to reduce pollution.

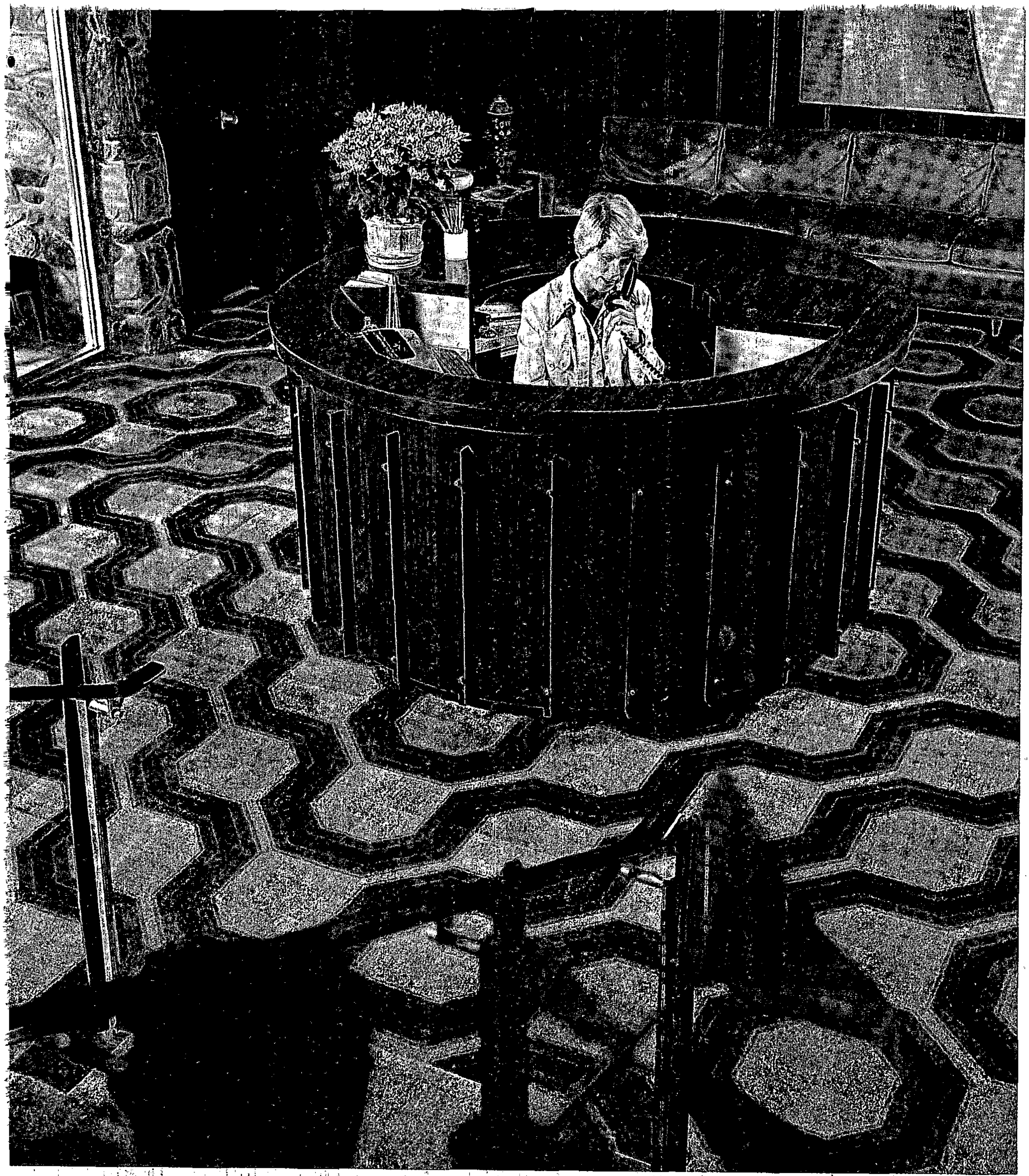
Some results are in.

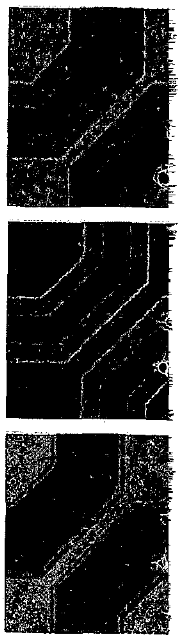
Over the past four years, field tests have been conducted on 25 coal-fired plant boilers in these studies, as well as on oil- and gas-fired boilers. Exxon engineers have been able to reduce NOx emissions from coal-fired boilers by as much as 60 percent in short-term tests. Longer term tests are needed to confirm these results.

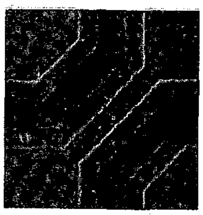
The published findings of this research have been made available to utility operators, boiler designers and others working in environmental and energy research.

The TIGER van—it's one way Exxon, the government, the electric power companies and boiler manufacturers are working together to help bring you more energy with less pollution.

EXXON







Milliken's **Flexagon** Carpet Tiles awarded **IBD** First Prize for Floor Coverings.

Once again, for the second year in a row, a major award of the prestigious Institute of Business Designers has been won by Milliken. The product honored is Flexagon, a new geometric design in Milliken's MILSTAR® Custom Squares, free-lay tiles with pile of 100% Antron® nylon. Flexagon is so versatile that, for the first time ever, an almost infinite multiplicity of patterns is provided by a single design.

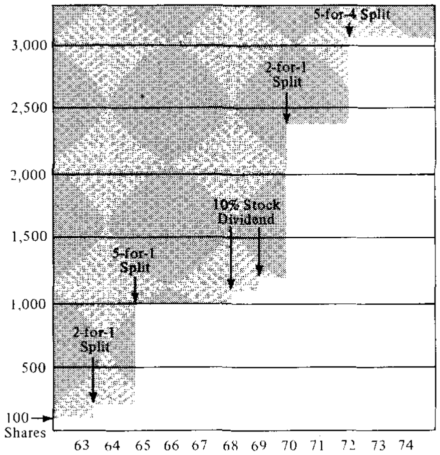
Cited by the IBD for their design achievement were Daniel C. Stark, Milliken's Director of Styling and Design, and David Oakey, Designer. The award-winning design is one of a number of remarkable new patterns made possible by the revolutionary Millitron™ Computer Injection Dyeing development from Milliken Research, America's largest textile research and development organization.

If it's in the future of carpets, chances are it will come from **MILLIKEN**

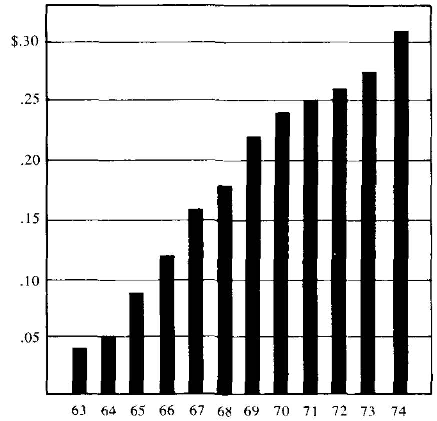
Floor Covering Business,
LaGrange, Georgia.

The Van Dorn Math: 100 = 3,025

HISTORY of 100 COMMON SHARES, 1963-1974



ANNUAL DIVIDENDS PAID PER SHARE



The story of Van Dorn Company typifies the American free-enterprise system: had you owned 100 shares of our stock in 1963, your portfolio would have expanded to 3,025 shares today thanks to a series of splits and stock dividends.

Over the same period your cash dividends per share would have increased more than 500%.

How's that for a company that started life 103 years ago as a manufacturer of wrought-iron fence! Many of our fancy fences and other ornamental ironwork are still in use today. And as good as when our founder, James Van Dorn, built them.

But times changed, and so did we. From fences we progressed to jail cells . . . corner mailboxes . . . armor plate for ships and trucks . . . steel filing cabinets . . . and a host of other metal products.

Then plastics came on the scene, and we were on the ground floor as one of the first manufacturers of plastic injection molding machinery . . . which today accounts for more than a third of our total sales.

Our container business evolved from a small can company acquired in 1944. Today, with eight manufacturing facilities in five states, we're a major producer of easy-open and conventional aluminum and composite containers, our leading product line. Almost inevitably you've purchased items ranging from foods and paint to motor oil packaged in cans turned out by a Van Dorn division.

Though we're no longer in the jail cell or wrought-iron fence business, we've continued the diversification that has been a Van Dorn hallmark for almost a century. In addition to plastic molding machinery and containers, our products today include heat-treated steel for a broad range of specialized uses, and temperature-control systems for plastic and other processing industries.

That our diversification has paid off is evident in sales, which have exceeded $100 million annually since 1973.

As a company which has endured and expanded through good times and bad, we firmly believe in the future of American industry and its economy. Want to know more about us? Write our chairman, Lawrence C. Jones, and you'll receive our latest annual and interim reports.

Van Dorn
SINCE 1872

VAN DORN COMPANY
2700 East 79th Street • Cleveland, Ohio 44104

The Brigantine® floor from Armstrong. Nothing else this decorative acts quite as tough with traffic.

It takes more than a pretty face to stand out in the floor covering crowd.

Decorative drama, of course, is a function of beauty. But making that beauty live beyond its youth is a function of character.

Brigantine Vinyl Corlon® unites the two in the happiest of marriages.

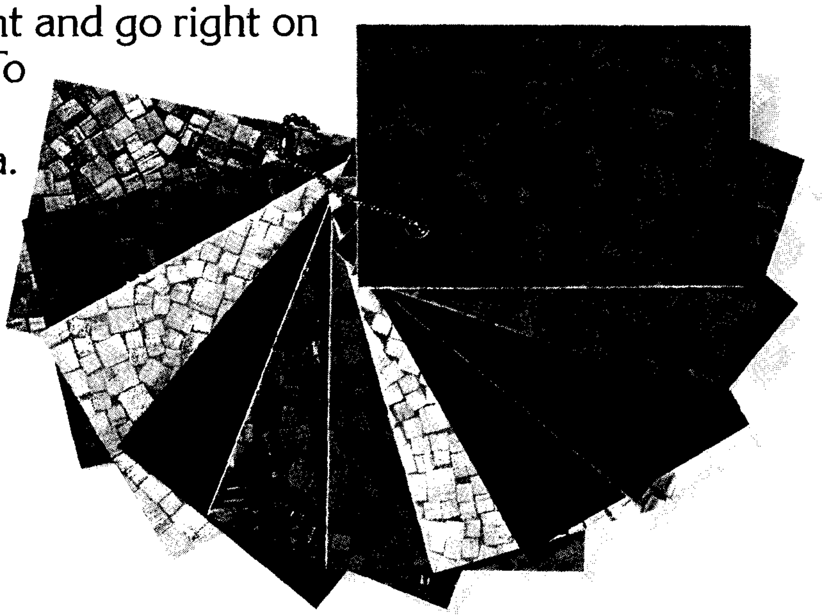
First, Brigantine offers as many pretty faces as you could wish—a spectrum of contemporary colors that can help you indulge your most inspired flights of fancy. For instance, our reception room uses four Brigantine colors to create an eye-arresting geometric look. Depending on what you have in mind, you can use one of those colors or all eleven. Their names alone suggest the possibilities—Char Brown, Zinnia, Nutmeg, Burnt Ochre, Beige White, Gold, Orange, Green, White, Brown, and Cork.

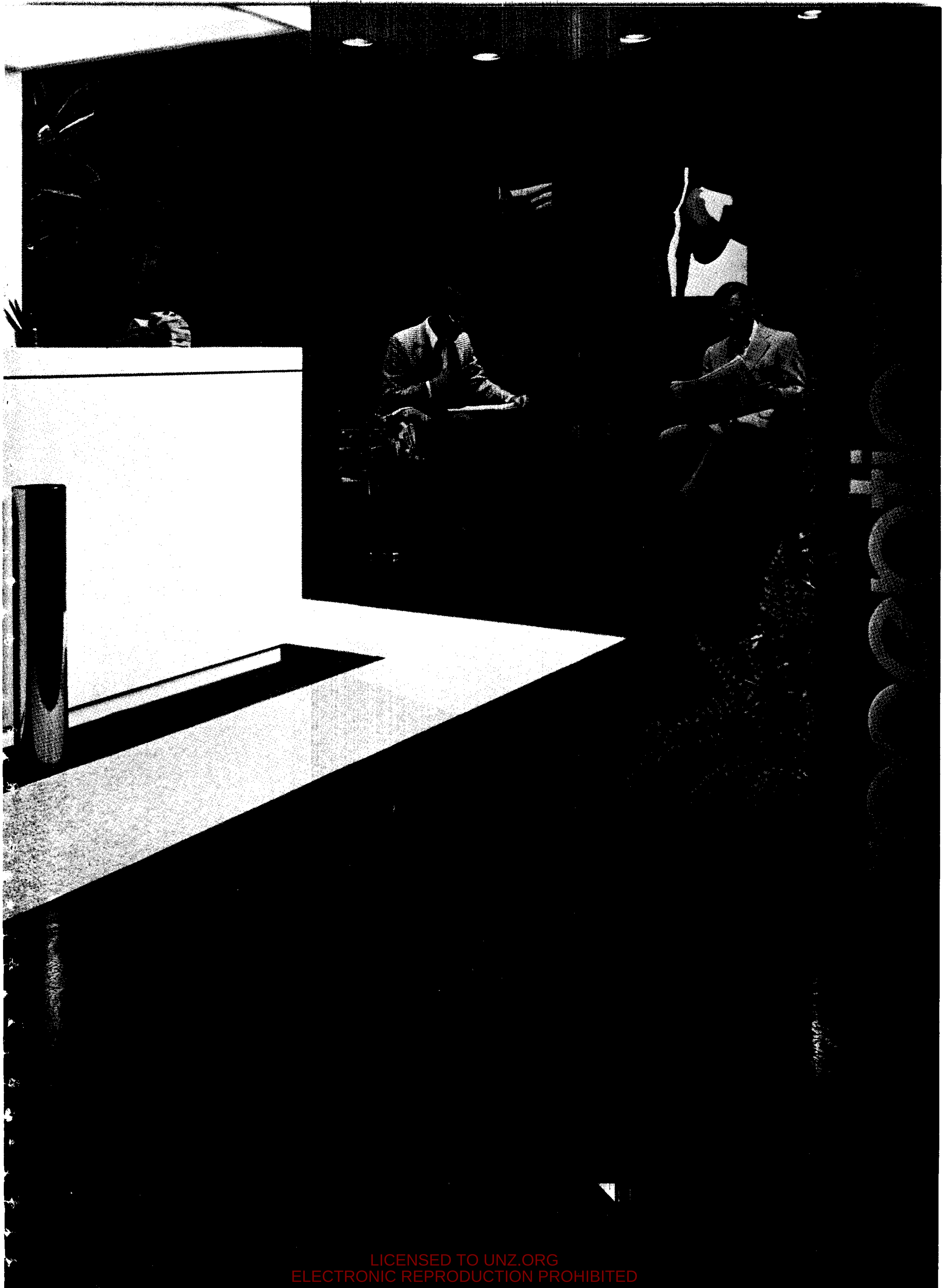
But what happens to all this colorful beauty in the real world? People walk on it, spill on it, track dirt on it.

That's why Brigantine is rugged sheet vinyl. It has the strength of character that resists heavy foot traffic, prevents spills from soaking in, and makes dirt removal a relatively simple job.

And since Brigantine comes in rolls six feet wide and up to 90 feet long, there are precious few seams where dirt can hide.

So if you're looking for a vinyl floor that's styled for good looks and built to make a lasting impression, you'll find what you need in Brigantine. It can take a lot of punishment and go right on looking like the beauty it is. To learn more, write Armstrong, 304 Hunter Rd., Lancaster, Pa. 17604.





Ames, Iowa, population 39,500. New York has about that many taxicabs and Chinese restaurants; L.A. might, by now, have that many suburbs.

Yet Ames is in the process of converting the garbage produced by all 39,500 into useable fuel for their electric power plant—burning more orange peels, coffee grounds, cereal boxes and less gas and oil—"corncobs to kilowatts" if you'll allow.

A big, big idea. And one good idea leads to another (reduced fuel needs). And another (sharply reduced landfill requirements). And still others (recovery of steel cans and other materials, reduced air pollution, increased community pride and efficiency). In fact, the idea is catching on in a big way in other small towns.

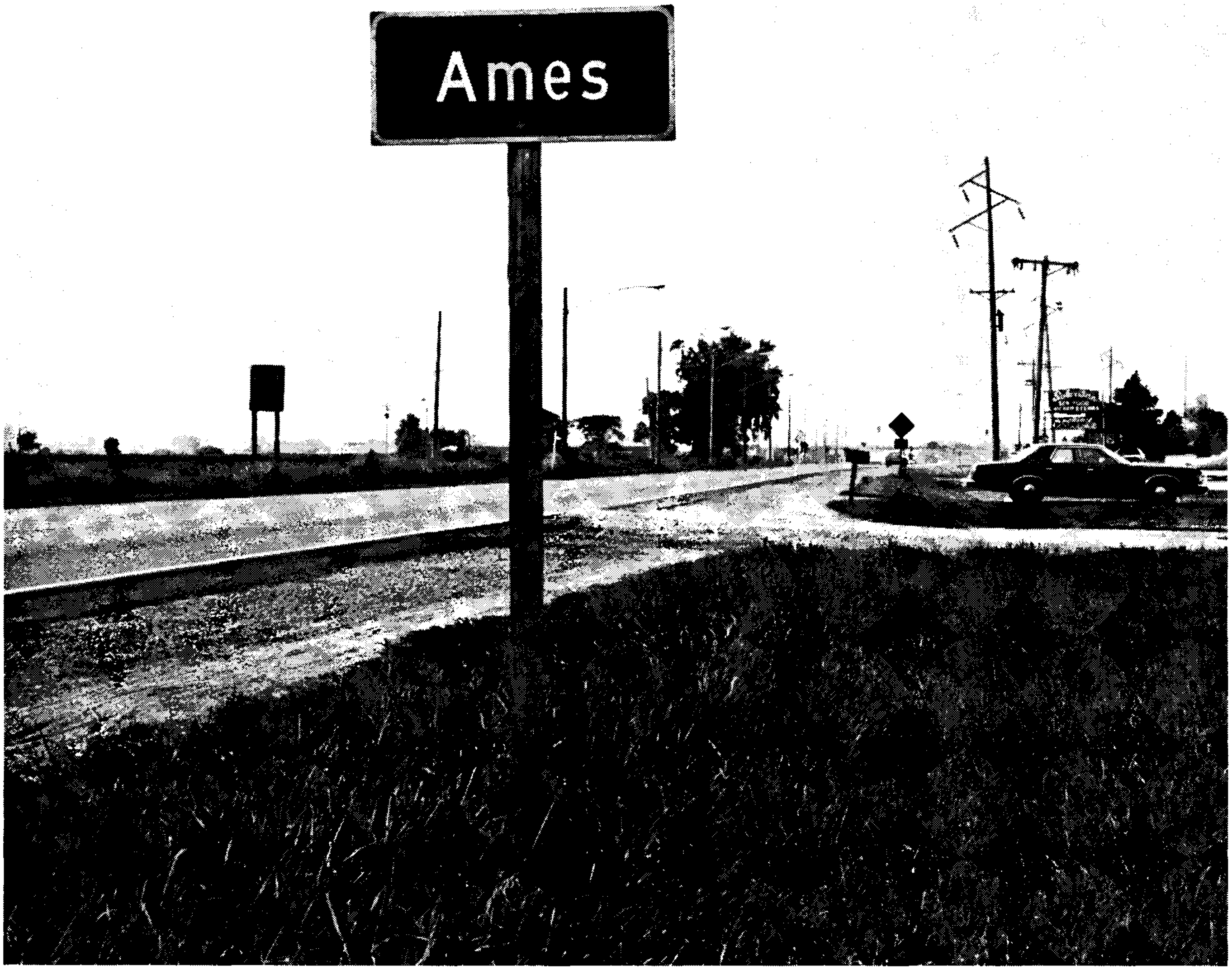
Franklin, Ohio; Saugus, Mass.; Great Falls, Mont.; Odessa, Texas; Menlo Park, Cal.; Stickney, Ill.; Altoona, Pa.; Madison, Wisc. and Hamilton, Ontario—they're all in the same business—burning garbage in place of oil and gas and recovering recyclable materials.

To the "small-fry" it makes good sense not to let waste go to waste. It will become common sense when the rest of us jump in. Find out how your community can become "energized"...Write us: Room 104

Steel
the recycled material

Tinplate Producers
American Iron and Steel Institute
1000 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

A small town with a pretty big idea.



Aerosols are here to stay!

The quarter-century success of aerosol packaging is due to the fact that aerosols do the job they are designed for—with economy, safety, convenience and consumer performance. It is no accident; the customer wants aerosols, needs them and buys them.

Peculiarly, despite the mass of anti-aerosol material published on the fluorocarbon-ozone depletion controversy—in the media, in government reports and as a result of federal and state legislative hearings—nothing has been **proved** to show that either fluorocarbons or the aerosols that use them as propellants have any adverse effect on human beings and their environment—and that includes the stratosphere.

Of course, a reader of this voluminous material would get the impression of impending disaster. The consumer has been subjected to shock treatment by the very persons who keep emphasizing that "the American people must be informed." Naturally, they don't add that the information is frequently misleading and biased, some politically motivated, and much downright untruthful.

Part of this shock treatment has been an attempt to turn consumers off aerosols, to scare them into using alternatives. But consumers always had alternatives from the day aerosols began. It was the customers who chose aerosols above other product packages, and the aerosol industry was built on consumer satisfaction. Thousands of products are launched every year, but only a few survive. Aerosols made it because consumers put them at the top of their shopping lists.

Another facet of the shock treatment is to belittle aerosols to consumers, to tell them aerosols are unnecessary, a luxury, and that alternatives can do anything that an aerosol does. This is palpably false. Let's consider how it all began!

Back in the early 1940's, during World War II, the U.S. was losing more service men to disease-carrying insects than to enemy fire in the South Pacific. Two government men invented the "bug bomb" and thousands of lives were saved on the battlefields.

Aerosols have continued to save lives ever since. They are widely and wisely used in hospitals and clinics, in medical and dental offices, in home and office buildings where cleanliness and sanitation are essential. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to do without effective and convenient disinfectants and insecticides that continue to prevent the spread of disease and death.

The dramatic story of the asthmatic inhaler is a case in point. In 1964, the first year for which figures are available, there were about 3 million aerosol bronchodilators sold in the U.S. In 1970, more than 8 million were sold. In 1960, the death rate from asthma was three for every 100,000 population; ten years later the death rate had dropped to one in 100,000. That translates into several thousand people per year who are alive and contributing to society because there is a reliable and convenient aerosol at their disposal.

The list of consumer-favored aerosols is long; each one answered a need for efficiency and convenience. Hair sprays, for example, would not have been possible without aerosol technology. The development of many different types of foams for cosmetic, industrial, household and pharmaceutical use has made available a great array of products which continue to fulfill a public need.

Consumers know what aerosols can do; that's why they buy them. We think they're too smart to be turned off by a few scientists, legislators, consumer activists and the media on the basis of fragmentary supposition. Aerosols will survive.

PRECISION ®

PRECISION VALVE CORPORATION

Main Office: 700 Nepperhan Avenue, P.O. Box 309, Yonkers, New York 10702
U.S. Plants: Yonkers, New York — Chicago, Illinois
Overseas Plants and Licensees: Argentina • Australia • Brazil • Canada • England • France • Germany • Italy • Japan • Mexico • South Africa
Representatives throughout the world

James A. Bourke

Financial Consultant to the Construction and Manufacturing Industries

Thirty years' experience as a commercial loan officer at one of America's largest banks . . . retired as senior vice president . . . Has extensive lecturing experience at contractors' conventions and the Graduate Schools of Banking of the University of Oklahoma and the University of Wisconsin.

140 Elmwood Terrace
Elmhurst, Illinois 60126
(312) 834-6266

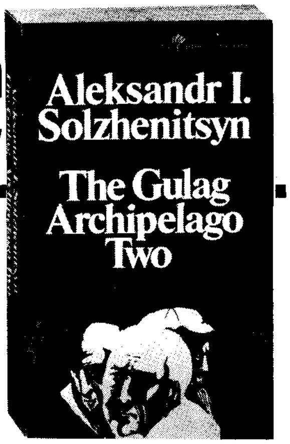
Box 774
La Quinta, California 92253
(714) 564-4697

As NATIONAL REVIEW confronted the major timely issues over the years, we've been very proud to put the issues of National Review into print.

Congratulations as you celebrate your 20th Anniversary as an important publication on the American scene.

CITY NATIONAL PRINTING COMPANY
200 Railroad Ave., Greenwich, Ct. 06830 (203) 622-9217
City National Printing Co. East 50 Emmett Street, Bristol, Ct. 06010 (203) 582-9551
City National Printing Co. West 1600 North Main Street, Pontiac, Ill. 61764 (815) 844-5181
Midwestern Sales Office 2021 Spring Road, Suite 325, Oak Brook, Ill. 60521 (312) 986-5430
Affiliated with **The City Printing Company** 291 State Street, North Haven, Ct. 06473 (203) 288-6455

FREE With your subscription *(or renewal)* to National Review



...the long-awaited Volume II of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago!

Be one of the first to get this historic book *(read on for details)*

This is a one-time-only offer you won't want to miss. We will send you a *free and postpaid* copy of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag II* (worth $2.50) if you use the card facing this page to subscribe (or renew your current subscription) to either *National Review* MAGAZINE *or* the NR BULLETIN. You pay no more than the *current* rate (another bargain: rates will go up *soon*) and get this monumental book mailed to you hot off the press. *Everyone* will be talking about this anti-Communist bombshell for months to come – even *Time* says that this one "may well be Solzhenitsyn's most stunning achievement to date"! It is filled with incredible (but true) details about life in the slave camps in which – according to one estimate – more than 60 million people have perished in conditions that would defy description *except* by one of the world's greatest writers (speaking from *first-hand* experience!). Choose the offer you prefer – either the MAGAZINE or our fast-reading newsletter, the BULLETIN – but be sure you get this book *now* (we will not be able to repeat this special take-your-pick offer). Just check your instructions on the handy card facing this page and mail it back to us without delay.

...about the MAGAZINE

National Review MAGAZINE is one of the most frequently-quoted publications in the nation today; for the past 20 years it has been considered even by liberal observers as the most authoritative voice of responsible conservatism in America. NR is published bi-weekly (except at Christmas, i.e., 25 times a year); the current subscription rate is $15 a year, but a price increase is expected soon, so now is the perfect time to subscribe *or* renew your current subscription (we'll just add a full year to your present expiration date). Just check your instructions on the card opposite.

...about the BULLETIN

The BULLETIN is the fact-filled newsletter issued by *National Review* on alternate weeks — when the magazine is not published (so it too comes to you 25 times a year). Its eight pages bring you a wealth of easy-to-read news that keeps you well up on all the latest from Washington and other major capitals around the world. The BULLETIN also has other special features (a special business-financial column, plus "People," the "who's saying what about whom" column that most BULLETIN readers turn to first!). Currently $12 a year; get it now — and Solzhenitsyn too — before the price goes up. See card for details.

Doctor Hart's Political Survival Kit

JEFFREY HART

Not long ago a bright but very troubled student dropped in on me at my office in the handsome Georgian building that houses the Dartmouth College English Department. The student wanted some advice. He had long and as a matter of course inhabited the world of conventional liberalism that passes as a sort of inheritance to middle-class Ivy League students. Liberalism is a code of manners; it is part of the air a student like this had always breathed. His own experience and some reflection, however, had given birth to doubts of escalating intensity. In the early fall of 1975 he had at last stepped out of the liberal bungalow and, like Nora in *A Doll's House*, closed the door behind him. But he had stepped into a kind of void, so far as he could see. There was nothing outside the door. Could I suggest a few books that might help him rethink things and reconstruct a position?

An answer to such a question is always somewhat arbitrary. You really cannot say, "Begin at the beginning, where our bankrupt educational system ought to have begun you a dozen years ago." You cannot say, "Begin to absorb the mind of the West, from Homer through the present, with perhaps special attention to Dante." That would be an ideal answer of sorts, but not sitting in your office at 2 P.M. on an October afternoon talking to an unhappy sophomore. What you need are five or six key books, each addressed to a specific intellectual purpose, each getting beneath and beyond liberalism. It is best if they are recent—have the feel of contemporaneity, have transactions with current issues. They should be brilliant and powerful, indeed intellectually overwhelming, but they should not require several years of effort to master. You cannot say, "Try Eric Voegelin, and come back and see me during your senior year for a second suggestion." But it is possible to recommend five or six recent books which, absorbed and integrated into an overall shape, do go a long way toward solving my student's intellectual problem. They provide new ground to stand on. In Wallace Stevens' phrase, they are "parts of a world" and together they limn a whole one.

1. To begin with, history must be the foundation; or, changing our metaphor, history must be the backing upon which to weave any pattern of form and meaning. Under the circumstances it is wise to start with America, and I consider the single best book for our purpose here to be Samuel Eliot Morison's *Oxford History of the American People* (Oxford, 1965). You cannot begin to talk seriously about the American political tradition—that is, our self-definition as a people—unless you know a substantial body of historical fact. You ought to know about Jamestown and Plymouth, about the French and Indian War and the Continental Congress; you ought to know what the arguments were about during Jackson's Administration, what the Missouri Compromise and the Dred Scott Decision were; and you ought to know about the Reconstruction Era and the winning of the West. You cannot know *all* the details, but the life does reside in the details. Time and history are the *given*; that is where we start from.

Morison's book is spirited, lucid, and has no axe to grind. It is sometimes crusty and Morison does offer a few eccentric judgments, but he will not mislead you. He tells the story as well as it can be told in a single volume. And he is patriotic in an unillusioned way; he thinks that the Republic was worth while. Charmingly, he includes, literally, some grace notes: at the end of each major section he reprints the score of an emblematic song of the period, from

"Ancient Navajo War Chant" through "Old Hundred," "The World Turned Upside Down," "Tenting Tonight," "Dixie's Land," "Hail, Hail, the Gang's All Here," and, finally, "Camelot."

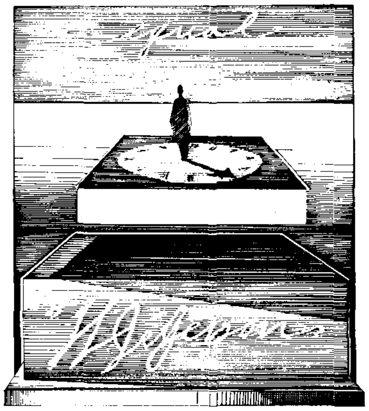
2. When you have the history in hand, you need the meaning. More precisely, you need the terms of the debate. Most political discussion today is worthless, mere sloganeering sprouting out of bad faith. The great corrective, indeed the major work of political philosophy of the period following World War II, is in my view *The Basic Symbols of the American Political Tradition* by Willmoore Kendall and George Carey (Louisiana State University Press, 1970). The central strength of the book lies in the fact that it does come to grips with the terms of the debate. It consists of a conversation with the Founders, no less, and indeed its style is brilliantly colloquial. It confronts the key documents—confronts them, as Leo Strauss taught, "totally." It breathes the eighteenth century intellectual air, and though Washington or Jefferson or Madison might conceivably have challenged this or that argument, there is no doubt in my mind that they would have recognized the book as living in their intellectual universe. It deals with the overriding political issues by means of disciplined constitutional argument.

WHAT *is* the American political tradition? That is the opening question for Kendall and Carey. Is it the tradition of "equality," as maintained by what they call the "official literature"? Is it the tradition of "individual rights," as maintained by "official" readings of the Declaration? Are we, as Lincoln claimed at Gettysburg, "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal"—whatever he might have meant by that?

These are not mere academic issues. The modern proponents of equality—of condition, of opportunity, of whatever—purport to find equality as a goal, indeed *the* goal, at the founding of the Republic.

Kendall and Carey explicate the key documents beginning with the Mayflower Compact. The enormous intellectual drama of their book involves the progressive unfolding of the constituent elements of the American political tradition. Not only the Constitution but also the Declaration and the Bill of Rights evolved from the earlier colonial experience. The key elements were present from the beginning, and gradually separated out from others more transitory. The persisting elements, from the beginning through the Constitution, turn out to be a "virtuous and moderate people" striving through "the deliberative process" to achieve their declared purposes, which include, *inter alia*, "better ordering" and "justice." The supreme symbol is the "deliberative assembly."

Not surprisingly, when the Constitution comes to set forth the goals of the new government it says nothing about any absolutes, nothing at all about the achievement of equality, for example. According to the Preamble, the goals are: a) to form a more perfect union, b) to establish justice, c) to ensure domestic tranquillity, d) to provide for the common defense, e) to promote the general welfare, and f) to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. Nothing absolute, nothing utopian there. When these goals come into conflict, the priorities are to be settled by that "deliberative" process.



Carey and Kendall find the Constitution to be the fruition of the American political tradition *including* the Declaration. Lincoln, they argue, assisted at the birth of a new and heretical tradition, stressing "equality"—a hotly debated point that in no way detracts from the intellectual power of this astonishing book.

I MYSELF find that when students become aware of what the Founders actually set up on this continent—the first large republic since ancient Rome—they become much more concerned about the international fate of that self-governing republic.

3. But while we are breathing that bracing eighteenth century intellectual air, another current bubbles up in American culture. It, too, turns out to have been there from the beginning. The Founders are skeptical, anti-utopian; they are students of history, and Livy is much more important to them than Locke. They are the noblest Romans of them all. They reflect eighteenth century "high culture." But Ernest Tuveson in *Redeemer Nation* (University of Chicago Press, 1968) describes an opposite and potent—still potent—tradition. It is religious at its roots, reading the Book of Revelations as historical prophecy, looking for redemption *in* history rather than beyond it, and viewing America quite literally as the agent of man's redemption. The "deliberative" constitutional tradition is non-perfectibilist. Men deliberate on the proper course, listening to other imperfect men. The tradition described by Tuveson moves to the drumbeat of revelation, knowing the truth absolutely. His book is a kind of American appendix to Voegelin. Tuveson shows how powerful and pervasive this tradition was. People saw visions, did strange things, spoke in allegory and in tongues. The apocalyptic tradition is present in the seventeenth century and it is powerful in Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic." It persists in contemporary absolutist imperatives. It is an American gnosticism, and the constitutional tradition wages intellectual and spiritual war against it.

4. This year, John Murray Cuddihy's *The Ordeal of Civility* (Basic Books) was nominated for a National Book Award, losing out to Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Basic Books). Fifty years from now Cuddihy's book will be the one that is remembered. It is a difficult but enormously exciting book, and also difficult to epitomize. It can be taken in various ways, but I would call it the reply of Western culture to the defamers of Western culture. Cuddihy is a sort of one-man anti-defamation league. Marx and Freud purported to discover the dirty little secrets that were the truth about the West. Everything came down to money and sex. Everything supposedly higher was "superstructure" or "sublimation"—all value, all art, all religion, all love. These and other modern—Cuddihy would say pseudo-modern—thinkers in effect dropped an enormous depth charge into the mind of the West. Cuddihy's attack on them is radical. He shows that their analyses were culture-bound and arose out of their own special predicament. They were anything but "scientific," and their

WHY CONSERVATIVES READ

A UNIQUE INVESTOR SERVICE

FOR SHEER PLEASURE

FOUR years ago investors had a real problem: finding good market books without wasting a lot of time and money. Only one guide in ten is worth reading.

We launched the Financial Book Digest in 1971 to solve it. FBD reviews 80 investment books a year to help you select only the finest. Every time we save you the time and cost of an inferior book, we earn our modest subscription fee and then some. Those savings really add up!

FBD quickly became something you can read with profit even if you never buy a book. We pass along key tips, strategies, ideas. We put proven investment principles and free market economics at your disposal. We'll get the book under review for you at a discount -- even if we slammed it. The Wall Street Journal, no less, took front-page note of this:

> **THE SOFT SELL?** Financial Book Digest offers to sell the books it reviews to subscribers, but the pitch is often less than strong. Regarding one book, FBD recently advised readers: "You won't meet any problems if you take our advice and steer way clear of this turkey." About another: "The competition has this book whupped Save your money."

Hell, that's mild. We have recommended that books be composted, burnt, or recycled as cardboard boxes. We've pricked pomposities, lectured to professors, made war on dull writing and lousy editing. We started a flap by reviewing the center photos of an allegedly Important book, and dismissed a big bestseller as financial pornography. But we once reviewed a book of poetry (loved it), and rejoice whenever a fine work appears.

That kind of honesty and flair makes FBD an adventure in personal journalism that many read for sheer pleasure. But what else would you expect, knowing it's written by old National Review hands Bill Rickenbacker and Tim Wheeler?

Try FBD at our risk. There's nothing like it at any price. Subscriptions: $16 a year or $30 for three years (save 37%). First issue free. If FBD isn't for you, just let us know within three weeks and we'll return your check, uncashed.

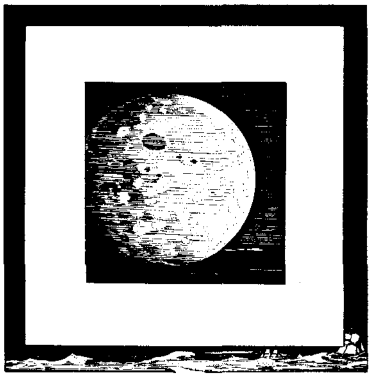
Fair enough?

Order from: Financial Book Digest, Rt. 3, Box 114, Shelbyville, Ind. 46176

conclusions do not have general application. Cuddihy himself has dropped the depth charge of radical sociology into the "economics" of Marx and the "psychoanalysis" of Freud, and as the news gets around they can hardly be the same ever again.

5. The West, Western civilization, Christendom—that, of course, is what the great political conversation, or argument, is all about. And two major works, one very recent, focus sharply on the global position of the West: James Burnham's *Suicide of the West* (John Day, 1964; reprinted with revisions, Arlington House, 1974) and Jean Raspail's novel *The Camp of the Saints* (Scribner's, 1975).

George Orwell's *1984* was the great fable of totalitarianism, subsuming work by Koestler, Milosz, and others. In its way it was the great political novel of the postwar period. Raspail's *Camp of the Saints* is a fable of comparable power and importance about the decay of the Western will to survive as a civilization. Burnham's book deals with the same subject in a discursive form, and *Suicide of the West* can be read as a gloss on Raspail's book, or vice versa. According to Burnham, liberalism is "the ideology of Western suicide." He demonstrates the point analytically, Raspail demonstrates it dramatically.



Raspail's plot has the power of great myth. The time is the near future, and a million or so starving beggars from Calcutta commandeer a hundred near-derelict steamships and head south along the east coast of Africa. It is a wretched and amorphous mass of people, cooking rice on briquets of human feces, dying without struggle, copulating in all possible combinations, stinking and undifferentiated. The fleet is a floating slum, a passive, deadly anti-world. It soon becomes clear that the fleet is sailing toward southern France and intends to disembark its hordes on the Côte d'Azur. Throughout the "Third World," potential hordes await the French response. Will the French, will the West, resist—maintain the "form" of which civilization consists? Or will it submit to inundation?

Raspail is a great poet of civilization, in the following passage speaking through a French professor of literature named Calguès:

> What was there in the world more Western than Mozart, more civilized, more perfect. No eight hundred thousand voices could drone their chant to Mozart's notes. Mozart had never written to stir the masses but to touch the heart of each single human being in his private self. . . . The Western world summed up in its ultimate truth. . . . Like that silver fork, for example, with the well-worn prongs, and some maternal ancestor's initials, now rubbed almost smooth. A curious object, really, when you think that the Western world invented it for propriety's sake, though a third of the world still grubs up its food with its fingers. And the crystal, always set out in a row of four, so utterly useless. Well, why not? Why do without glasses, like boors?

The deepest books nod to one another. Notice Raspail's positives: "propriety's sake," "each single human being," the "private self." Compare Cuddihy's sense of the West as "civility," and of "civility" as requiring an "ordeal." Compare, again, the "restraints" characteristic of the constitutional tradition in the book by Carey and Kendall.

In *Camp of the Saints* the Ganges armada slowly approaches the West by sea, like some viper sliding toward a bemused animal. Will the animal manifest the minimal response necessary for self-preservation? No: in Raspail the West will not. The anti-world has long been at work within the bloodstream of the West. In Provence, a few stage a last-ditch effort to stop the surging horde, but it is closing time for civilization: "Surging blindly forward. Unthinking, unwitting. Already gazing at seaside villas, reveling in the windblown trees and flowers, probing with countless hands the first elegant railings that lined the beach, clambering, climbing, swarming through parlors and out other doors, pouring into the streets . . ."

By presenting his powerful image of the anti-civilizational, Raspail reminds us who we are and of what Western civilization consists. His *Camp of the Saints* is the most powerful political fable of our time. But its subject is also that of all the other books in this Political Survival Kit. ☐

LITERATURE

The Jumbo Lustrum

HUGH KENNER

Five years ago he was a rarity among your acquaintance who had laid eyes on a Jumbo jet. It is harder this fall to meet anybody who has not flown in one. Not many months after they went into service they had moved more people more miles than all the world's aircraft since the Wrights'. There are naked men in Paraguay, speakers of forest tongues more intricate than a Jumbo's wiring harnesses, who have not seen in a lifetime as many different human beings as one Jumbo will snatch cloudward simultaneously, every few minutes, somewhere on the planet. Three hundred bodies: that many minds switched off.

As to what they permit. Amid rain-squalls just before noon one day last August a Pan Am Jumbo on the Honolulu-Guam-Okinawa-Hong Kong circuit made its delicate way earthward between cloud and mountain to a routine stop at the city the Chinese call Northern Terrace (Taipei). One disembarking passenger came from Cambridge (Mass.), where a year after Kitty Hawk Henry James lingered away an afternoon pondering whither, in an era of steam, the Muses had fled. A celebrity in circles emanating from Cambridge, this passenger had jetted halfway round the world to address a conference of scholars. His mission was to raise consciousness in the direction of global literature.

Touchdown speed had been perhaps 130 knots, and spray blown up with the plane's braking roar had not quite hidden, just beside the runway, the white water buffalo plodding amid young rice plants.

Global literature for five days seemed highly thinkable. Jets had whisked in comparatists from England, Germany, Hong Kong, Madison, Berkeley. Gnomic poems calligraphed centuries ago under pine trees had been subdued by typewriter with interlinear glosses. Microphones to disseminate every mumble had been fetched from Tokyo, and if your lecturer's accent was still less than penetrable, you referred to your copy (multilithed, stapled) of the script he read from. The Chinese photographer whose Kodacolor froze gestures for the Tamkang University archives wore a porkpie hat.

Beneath thin tenacious layers of comprehension a trance of good feeling settled every mind: a good trance to be enjoying, while the U.S. sucked its thumb after Watergate. The speaker from Cambridge, when it came time for him to crown the proceedings, was deservedly applauded. The Jumbos had helped midwife a phantasm: what global literature might be.

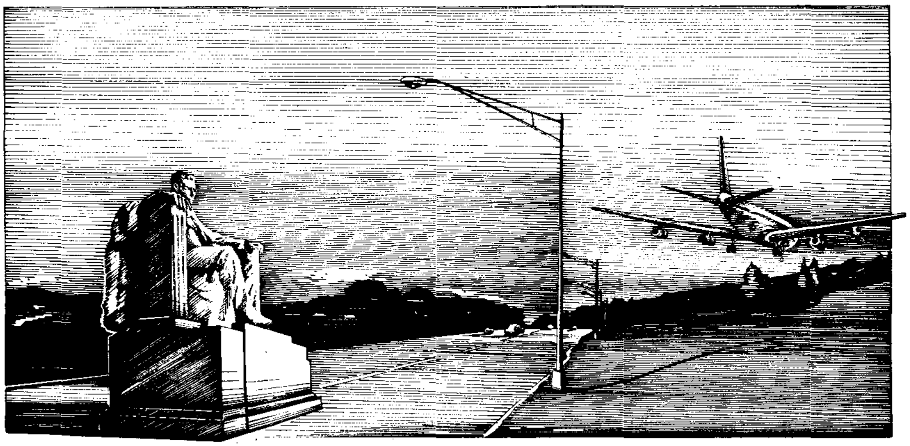
What might it be? Being carried halfway round the earth in a day should be part of it, both that lulling experience and its ordinariness. But no imagination has penetrated such themes. They are left for the mind's upper films to record and reject: tourism. For the impact of juxtaposed cultures we turn not to Pan Am but to the literary imagination, which has brought them into contact for decades. In *The Waste Land* you can step from Switzerland to London—

> *By the waters of Leman I sat down*
> *and wept . . .*
> *Sweet Thames, run softly till I end*
> *my song*

—in the time it takes to turn the corner of a printed line. As for instant shuttle service between America and China, Ezra Pound's *Cantos* inaugurated that fifty years ago:

> *The old swimming hole,*
> *And the boys flopping off the planks*
> *Or sitting in the underbrush playing*
> *mandolins.*

But those imaginations stayed in one place, to which other places came.



The events of the Jumbo Lustrum, 1970 to 1975? Among them, surely, Pound's death; which prompts the reflection that he never visited China, he who devoted half his life to restructuring its energies in American print.

Another event, the death of Marianne Moore; and what happened when the news of that reached Venice elucidates what Pound made it his habit to do, instead of yearning for a trip to China. He did not emplane for her funeral. He arranged that this quirky little lady from St. Louis should have a Venetian memorial service (she would not have aspired to it), and just at the hour when they were eulogizing her in New York, Ezra Pound in Venice in a parallel eulogy was reading her "What Are Years?" Similarly, some of his reconstitutions of China were performed in Kensington, some in Rapallo, some in the District of Columbia. None in China. The page has no place.

Offsetting ends, completions. A long poem called "*A*"—in progress 47 years—was finished in 1975 by Louis Zukofsky, Whittaker Chambers' "guy with the eyebrows" from Columbia days. Any bird at all comes to roost on Zukofsky's page without one's seeing how it alighted. "With no Chinese," he once wrote, "it is possible to have lived Li Po," and proceeded to quote:

> *rooted . . . affection . . .*
> *shook hands, as over a vast;*
> *and embrac'd, as it were, from the*
> *ends*
> *of opposed winds.*
> *The heavens continue their loves!*

—a "found" Chinese poem, word for word out of Shakespeare (*Winter's Tale*, I, 1, 25 ff.). By opening an Elizabethan English book, Zukofsky could slip into China without leaving Brooklyn.

And Bucky Fuller (global man) issued *Synergetics*, as long in progress

**

*Here's a new idea for your next meeting:

Make it an occasion to be remembered with a really good speaker

from *Catherine Babcock, Inc.* A good speaker can make the difference between a successful meeting or a dull affair. Locating the right speaker is no problem when you deal with Catherine Babcock. Choose from this lineup of outstanding conservatives:

- *William A. Rusher
- *Russell Kirk
- *M. Stanton Evans
- *Jeffrey Hart
- *Ernest van den Haag
- *D. Keith Mano
- *Peter P. Witonski
- *David Brudnoy
- *J. Daniel Mahoney
- *Cornelius J. Troost
- *John Kiley
- *F. Clifton White
- *Robert K. Dornan
- *Lev Navrozov

All you have to do is tell us the name of your organization and when your meeting is scheduled. We'll handle everything. Write today to:

Catherine Babcock, Inc.
544 Southside Rd.
Virginia Beach, Va. 23451

as "*A*." It is the discontinuous prose epic of the jet age (and like global literature, is populated with wraiths).

And Robert Fitzgerald finished his *Iliad*, where we can hear Homer speak English. Thirteen years ago in the afterword to his *Odyssey* Fitzgerald told us how he achieved one phrase in the Saronic Gulf, and its neighbor a week later at sunrise in Heraklion. "But most of it was what all writing is, a sedentary labor, or joy, sustained at a worktable."

In sum, there is no substitute for going somewhere, also no substitute for staying home. The wise man is he who knows when to do both.

BESTSELLERDOM continues to do neither. The locale of *Jaws* is nowhere—a slackly imagined town peopled by dummies with interchangeable nonfaces, anonymous as the fish that keeps eating them. No Fitzgerald three millennia hence will take pains over its rendering into Martian. Yet *Jaws* sold and sold, transporting readers by the hundred thousands into—precisely, into nowhere, non-art's limbo, stirred by the one thing that will solicit the anesthetized mind, a Menace.

The mid-Seventies reading public, so sapped is its resilience, craves to be either Nowhere or else in the Never-Was: if not immersed in Benchley's fustian ocean, then assisting at the robbery of a Victorian train, or panting as Sigmund Freud (!) stokes the maw of a Viennese locomotive. Bestsellers cohere; this year's *Ragtime*, *The Great Train Robbery*, *The Seven Per Cent Solution* mix what was (trains, Freud) and what never was (Holmes, Watson) to create a half-world that joins reality's reassurances with covert escape. (And what about *The Joy of Sex* and *More Joy*? How you'd go about swinging if you could, at the same time keeping your "relationship" intact.)

To be neither here nor there, yet to give up neither here's kicks nor there's: such is the craving we may read from the 1975 bestseller charts. The frank escape Agatha Christie once put on sale no longer draws, not without juicy lacings of the quasi-real. Declining a simpler day's jokes about casting a hex, a Baltimore disc jockey in the waning weeks of the Orioles' season hopped a real Jumbo to Africa and negotiated with a real witch doctor for a real spell to cast on the Red Sox. If it didn't work, that was because the wizard's too-stringent conditions were statistically unmeetable. The fans, who demand no less than the almost-real thing, were ecstatic. (It needn't work. We expect that nothing will.)

The same DJ later offered to solve New York's problems with a telethon: a real telethon, with phones manned and real pledges phoned in, and a $450-million goal for the day. One donor pledged 2 cents and a tunafish sandwich, but his wife vetoed the 2 cents. Not counting the sandwich, that drive raised $66 plus change: make-believe aid but real money, which must have made Abe Beame's day.

Still the unreal cheek by jowl with the real. There's no way to comprehend half a billion dollars. A tunafish sandwich, that we can get our teeth into.

Hunger for the real, confronting what the mind cannot comprehend and turns into fantasy: such is the formula for both jokes and bestsellers. Art thrives at the interface of two realities.

So does anguish. On the return flight (Tokyo-Anchorage-Chicago) the alarm went out for a doctor. On the Jumbo floor a young Korean knelt beside his infant, unprepared to be told that all babies make choking sounds from time to time. It was strangling, he said. He had an armful of medical books in English, also an emergency kit from which he now drew a brown rubber aspirator tube, ready for the doctor to put to lifesaving use. (The only doctor on board, it later turned out, never heard the English appeal because his tongue was Korean.)

Babies are durable. The nurse who came to the rescue found no baby-crisis whatever, but instead a father stunned between two worlds. His wife spoke only Korean. They lived in Midwestern suburbia. He had commenced studying the books early in her pregnancy, and they had jetted all the way home so she could be delivered, as tradition enjoins, amid her native hills by a midwife. Each of the baby's 22 days the father had played doctor, and aloft between two worlds, jetting back to suburbia, he was crushed between dual obligations: to the ancient ways of the hills, to the rite of the stethoscope. At Anchorage, while the ground crew swept the plane's aisles free of Japanese breadcrumbs, he was having an Alaskan physician paged. There should have been a novelist aboard.

One world entails more worlds than anyone can handle, unless lightly on the very top of the mind. And when all the mind's awareness is of the surface, then it is that our sense of something below can midwife a shark. ☐

You can stand in line. You can pay too much. You can wrap packages. You can worry about delivery. Or you can clip the coupon below and please your favorite youngster…

. . . with a year full of HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN, the most honored, and possibly the most beloved, monthly children's magazine in the world. And, in a day and age when fads in toys and trinkets and clothes appear and vanish almost before you turn around, HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN could be one of the most exciting Christmas presents you will ever give.

For HIGHLIGHTS is not only different from the usual gift; it is different from other children's magazines as well.

Its intent is not only to delight and entertain, but to challenge and teach. The editors are nationally known experts in child psychology and family life; they firmly believe that the growing child finds his greatest pleasure in thinking, creating, and surprising himself and his parents by reaching intellectual heights no one had ever suspected he could.

Eleven times a year, HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN brings its young subscribers good fiction and poetry; authoritative articles on science, music, math, nature, astronomy and famous people; lessons in good manners; craft projects; puzzles, games and just plain fun. It avoids any suggestion of violence or crime in words or pictures. Each issue is 42 or more pages long, bound in sturdy tagboard. The type is large and easy-to-read. There are no coloring or cut-out pages, for HIGHLIGHTS is meant to become part of each young subscriber's permanent library.

HIGHLIGHTS *appeals to a wide age range:* from tots of 2 who love to listen to its stories and do the simple preparation-for-reading exercises within its pages . . . to 12-year-olds who find the biographies and science articles prime sources for school reports. A special annual Resource/Index issue, coming at the end of each calendar year, organizes each year's 11-issue collection as a reference source, to be turned to again and again as the child's interests and reading ability expand.

HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN is not available on the newsstands but is sold by subscription only, for the editors feel that part of its value is its continuing program of fresh, imaginative material.

It is sent addressed to the child himself, something all his own in a world where so much seems to be decided by adults. Where there are several children in the family, a single subscription may be shared in several names.

For a relatively small price, HIGHLIGHTS brings your love and remembrance to children you treasure . . . not just at Christmas, but eleven times a year. The contribution HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN can make to a child's development, however, as it reinforces reading as a pathway to pleasure and information, is a gift that will last a lifetime.

This year give the gift that won't be forgotten: give HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN.
Christmas gift rates: *Only $9.95 for each 1-year subscription (11 issues).*
Price includes free hand-signed Christmas gift card for every child on your list. (Gift price guaranteed only to Jan. 1.)
Please add $1 per subscription for gifts sent to Canada, or $2 elsewhere outside the U.S.

Please send a subscription to HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN as my gift to:

child name(s) ____ *age(s)*
address ____ *apt. no.*
city ____ *state* ____ *zip*
Sign gift card "from ____ *"*
11 • GSZN

child name(s) ____ *age(s)*
address ____ *apt. no.*
city ____ *state* ____ *zip*
Sign gift card "from ____ *"*
11 • GSZN

your name
address, if different from child's
city ____ *state* ____ *zip*
$____ is enclosed for ____ gifts.
☐ Bill me (no need to pay till Jan. 1)
☐ Charge to my bank credit card, account number:
☐ BankAmericard ☐ Master Charge (Interbank no. ____)
(For additional orders, please give us the information on a separate sheet of paper.)
Satisfaction guaranteed or money refunded.

Highlights® for Children
2300 W. 5th Ave., P.O. Box 269, Columbus, Ohio 43216

• • MK-E **For immediate service, call toll-free 800-848-8993 (in Ohio call collect 614-459-1434).** • GDZ 45

FILM

At Sea at the Cinema

DAVID BRUDNOY

On the occasion of NATIONAL REVIEW's 15th anniversary, I wrote in these pages [Dec. 1, 1970]—and I beg pardon for the Rand-like quotation of self—this seemingly hyperbolic piece of crystal-ball-gazing: "Don't be surprised if at the time of *NR*'s twentieth anniversary, 1975's most revered film has successfully evoked our sympathy for an opium-vending, alleyway-abortionist Black Panther who gets his kicks by ravaging three-year-olds."

This must be the place. Consider a few of the most acclaimed or at least most remarked films of the past year. In April, *Hearts and Minds* received an Academy Award and the adulatory shrieks of the Hollywood Four Hundred gathered for Oscar night, the sole possible reason for either being the movie's fashionably distorted portrayal of a vile American gone bonkers in Vietnam. When producer Bert Schneider scurried up to the rostrum to receive his Best Documentary award, he read a telegram of "greetings" to the American people written, said he, by Dinh Da Thi, head of the Vietcong delegation to the Paris peace talks, though eventually word got out in left-wing circles that the telegram was conceived and drafted by Cora Weiss, the energetic real-life Maude of anti-war left-liberalism. To this phony telegram a response was hastily pieced together by Frank Sinatra and Bob Hope, and passed off as written by "the Academy." Result? Widespread condemnation of the Hope-Sinatra ploy, total media disinterest in the "Dinh Da Thi" telegram con. Score: Pro-Communists 1, Patriots 0.

Dog Day Afternoon is currently the hottest ticket on the movie circuit, featuring another stunning performance by Al Pacino, here as a bank robber seeking the wherewithal to buy a sex-change operation for his transsexual boyfriend. The film is a knockout, finely made, shrewdly designed to win sympathy for our latter-day Robin Hood who, in one scene, casts stolen greenbacks to the wildly cheering onlookers, who also join him in screaming "Attica, Attica, Attica!" at the battalion of edgy cops massed before the bank. Hollywood has thus evoked our compassion for a dumb thief, a rather passionless bisexual, a cheap demagogue—*those* cops weren't at Attica, and had the Pacino character shouted "Angela, Angela, Angela!" to inspire a white crowd to taunt a group of Negroes, it would have been branded from Kael to Kauffmann as "racist." This is a remarkable film, though twenty years ago it could not have passed by the censors or the cultural prejudices of the citizenry.

Charlotte, Roger Vadim's latest won a measure of critical acclaim for its portrayal of the winning ways of a murderer who gets his on-screen jollies by screwing and garroting and finally plucking out the eyes of his chick. *The Fortune* is a comedy about adultery, greed, homicide, and the Mann Act; we adore Jack Nicholson and Warren Beatty as the multi-talentless heroes of this oddly appealing funny-unfunny flick. *Donkey Skin*, conjured out of a magnum of French treacle, is a musical fantasy about incest, much admired by critics. *Harold and Maude* stars the octogenarian Ruth Gordon and teenaged Bud Cort; in Boston it's already a high cult flick, running non-stop for, it now appears, eternity. *Coonskin*, the most recent poison-pen letter to America from the inkpot of Ralph Bakshi, creator of *Fritz the Cat* and *Heavy Traffic*, offers us a white monster race personified by a voluptuous Miss America who offs blacks with a pistol activated from her privates, a Godfather whose sons are screaming queens, and . . . But the point, surely, is made: if anything, I was conservative in my prediction five years ago of the way the American cinema would evolve. Were our hypothetical opium-vending, alleyway-abortionist Black Panther who gets his kicks by ravaging three-year-olds to be played by Fred Williamson in a race-baiting blaxploitation epic called *Super-Needle Humps the Tots*, it would gross millions, earn the praise of at least *some* white liberal critics still incapable of calling trash trash, and serve as another reminder of the progressive degeneration of the movie-going public, just 200 years since those honkies waged their Revolution to make America safe for Gresham's Law.

YET I THINK we err when we focus solely on the surface thematic elements of the contemporary film. Sometimes this results in other important aspects' winding up, so to speak, on the critic's cutting room floor. The most noted (but far from most financially successful) film of 1975 is *Nashville*, which opened to ecstatic critical notices, among them my own, to which the rejoinders, both artistic and political, came fast and frenzied. Patrick Buchanan branded *Nashville* "preposterous," a "slander of America," a movie "mocking the good society and system which guarantees the freedom it so regularly abuses." Mr. Buchanan's *Nashville* is anti-American. *NR*'s George Will similarly but not quite so stingingly took the picture to task, and

TRASH
20th CENTURY FOX

Advertisement

What the Critics Are Saying... About Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s

New York Times

"Like a doctor, he examines each statement in all its nakedness, under the pitiless light of the present . . . he approaches the question of his soul's ultimate disposition by way of common sense. Common sense is his secret weapon camouflaged by wit, erudition and dictionary games . . . He would not hesitate to parse a sentence or construe a line of verse – and he is right. For just as much of our poetry now is debased politics, politics, in our time, has become a kind of debased poetry. In 'Execution Eve,' Mr. Buckley is a tireless and talented exegete who is simply trying to put things back in their proper places."

Murray Kempton

"[Buckley] turns out usually to be right: reflection may sometimes lead Buckley as far astray as the rest of us, but his exuberance never betrays him. It is surprising to think that Buckley has been a presence in our public life for 25 years and still gives no sign of ever growing tiresome. . . . But it is Buckley's unique triumph over a disposable culture that he has always tried to be an ideologue and yet never managed to be a bore . . . his curiosity has preserved him from the treadmill of abstraction to which are condemned all those persons who care for the workings of no one else's mind except their own. That is why he is an example to all of those who try to change the public way of thinking by argument: he is a reminder that the point is not what you may find out but the zest of how you search."

The New York Times Book Review:

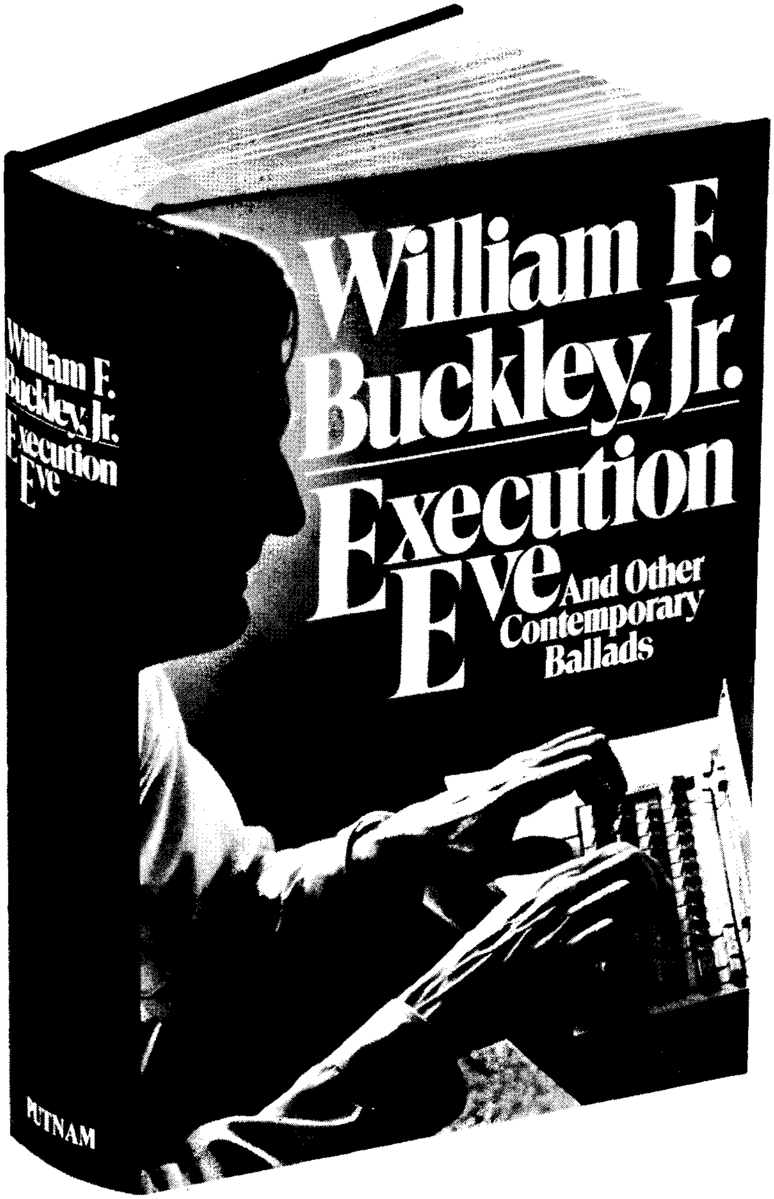
"In 'Execution Eve: And Other Contemporary Ballads,' William F. Buckley Jr. slithers venomously across the usual broad terrain of sacred and secular topics. Nobody demolishes easy targets more skillfully than he does – Jane Fonda never had a chance. Bill Buckley certainly deserves his reputation as one of the wittiest political satirists writing today."

Journal-Constitution (Atlanta, Ga.):

"If good writing is a delight to read, then William F. Buckley is one of the best writers in America today. . . . But this book is about a lot more than mere politics. Buckley writes interestingly on more important things – like sailing, sports, movies, the departed leaders like Truman, Johnson and others, about the press, religion, and travel. It's all lively and readable."

Nicholas King

"Bill Buckley is a man of principle and that is why he stands above the horde of scribblers and babblers who make up the scrap-bestrewn marketplace of our public opinion . . . whatever his attitudes, which are demanding, and notwithstanding an occasional screech of sophistry, he has his convictions and he hews to them with courage. . . . Mr. Buckley's writing is – why not? – educated writing, shaded by a weary cast of wordly amusement. He can be exceedingly irritating to the *bien pensants* of the liberal establishment, as it is called, but he is far more than a gadfly. Reading him, the outlines of satirist fade into the moralist's more enduring bones. So we respect him."



NOW ON SALE AT YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE

NR contributor Chilton Williamson did a number on *it* in *Harper's*, joining what looked like every conservative commentator (but one) who chanced publicly to evaluate the movie, in an orgy of overkill. Lost was an appreciation of the procedural innovations so splendidly employed by Robert Altman, of Joan Tewkesbury's stunning script concept, of the almost uniformly successful creation of appropriate music by nonmusical actors, of the force of several disparate threads compellingly woven together. Theme aside—and critics will join the public in endlessly debating whether this particular film is more celebration or put-down of America—*Nashville* stands now and will stand for a long time as a giant leap forward for the American cinema.

LIBERTY inevitably leads to license. In contrast to many of my siblings on the Right who practice the weird craft of reviewing popular culture, I willingly countenance the squalor of some screen offerings as a necessary and bearable side effect of the easing of movie and TV censorship. As Edith Efron wrote in *TV Guide* [June 14, 1975]: "If, indeed, the 'cumulative' watching of evil is turning us all, gradually, into depraved beings, then the 'cumulative' watching of good must be turning us all, gradually, into saints! You cannot have one without the other. That is, unless you are prepared to demonstrate that evil is something like cholesterol—something that slowly accumulates and clogs the system, while good is something like spinach, easily digested and quickly excreted." It is preposterous to blame the movies and TV for inciting evil while admitting that all the goody-goody pap from *Benji* to *Sesame Street* does zilch for "uplift." *NR*'s survival and growth for twenty years suggests, in part, that the Right is blossoming in many directions, one of which encompasses First Amendment absolutism. There will come from this corner no condemnation of the gradually enlarging freedom to show virtually anything on screen and, if not anything, at least more things than heretofore on the tube.

But applauding the liberty does not mean liking the license. The last few years have witnessed both a maturation and an infantilization of what we have been offered in the popular visual mass media. American film-goers have taken with a vengeance to the kinky and the meretricious. The taste for blood appears insatiable, as nine out of ten films designed for the Negro audience attest, as *Rollerball* attests, as Tom Laughlin's hideous *Billy Jack* trilogy attests. Vigilanteism triumphs in the Buford Pusser saga, *Walking Tall* and *Part II: Walking Tall*, and in Charles Bronson's most successful and atavistic movie, *Death Wish*. Left-wing propaganda of the sort Costa-Gavras does so relentlessly—witness *Z* and *State of Siege*—and such agitprop items of the last half decade as *WUSA*, *Executive Action*, *Sacco and Vanzetti*, *The Candidate*, and even this season's more suggestive, less hammer-headed *3 Days of the Condor*: these and many others manifest the concomitant of that freedom to show and tell and see: excess, distortion, cruelty, deceit. Of course none of this is new; it's as old as literature. Nor has it been especially heightened during the immediate past few years. But neither has it been slowed or reversed. Far from it; I wouldn't on this occasion even hint at a prediction of what pit we could find ourselves in, at the movies, five years hence.

And still, this has been a handful of years notable also for salutary growth. Last year MGM came out with a compilation movie, snippets from some of

EXTENSION PAYS HIGHEST RATES EVER!

That's right! You'll earn a top return on your savings dollar with an EXTENSION Charitable Gift Annuity. Sounds great, you say. Only . . . what's an annuity and who is EXTENSION?

An annuity is simply this: In return for a gift-investment, you receive a *guaranteed annual income for life*—thereby gaining financial security while eliminating investment worries.

As for EXTENSION, we're a national, fund-raising organization that's been aiding the poorest of America's home missions since 1905. In the isolated, underpopulated, and poverty-stricken areas of our nation, we help to educate seminarians, support missionaries, and build chapels and religious instruction centers.

For 70 years, we've helped the needy with funds raised through generous donors, EXTENSION Magazine subscriptions, EXTENSION Calendar sales and by our highly-successful annuity program.

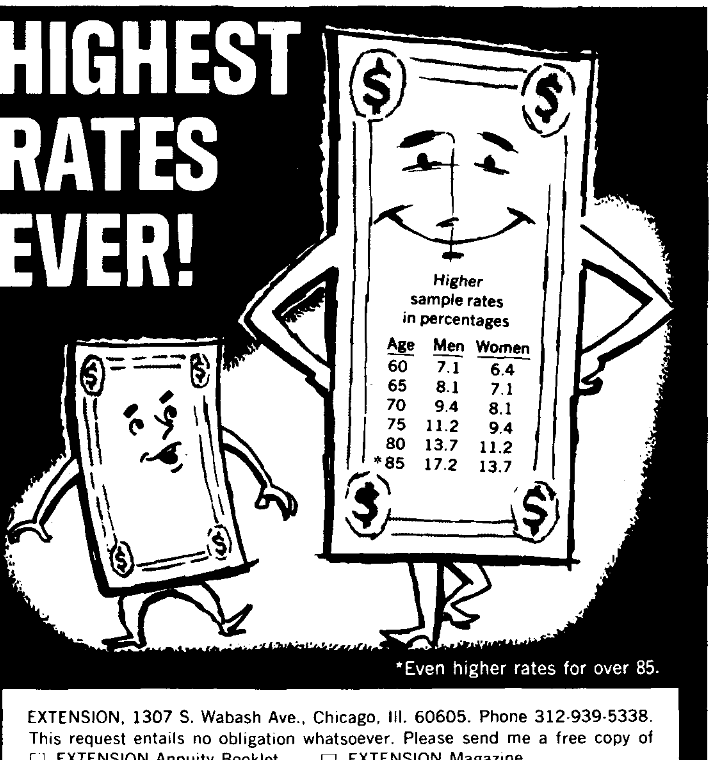
Our annuities give you an excellent return that is largely tax-free. Rates are based on age and sex. Women receive slightly lower rates because their life expectancy is greater than men.

All annuitants receive the added dividend of having their cash work for Christ. Join them! Profit by your charity. Mail this coupon now to get your free annuity booklet with full details.

(Also mail coupon for a free copy of EXTENSION Magazine.)

The Catholic Church Extension Society

AIDING THE POOREST OF AMERICA'S HOME MISSIONS SINCE 1905



Higher sample rates in percentages

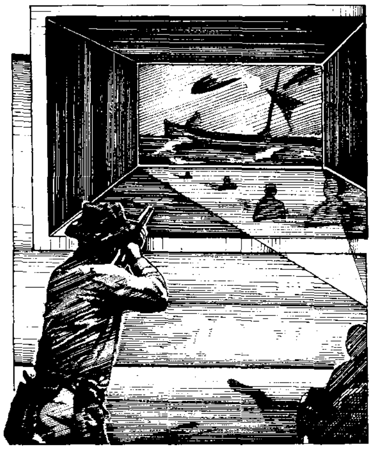
Age	Men	Women
60	7.1	6.4
65	8.1	7.1
70	9.4	8.1
75	11.2	9.4
80	13.7	11.2
*85	17.2	13.7

*Even higher rates for over 85.

EXTENSION, 1307 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60605. Phone 312-939-5338.
This request entails no obligation whatsoever. Please send me a free copy of
☐ EXTENSION Annuity Booklet ☐ EXTENSION Magazine.
NR—125
Name (Please Print) Birthdate
Address
City State Zip Code

its great musicals covering a forty-year span. *That's Entertainment* showed not only what we are now missing but also what those days were lacking. *Cabaret*, for one, can proudly stand next to any musical classic with the possible exception of *Singing in the Rain.* A musical with, for once, a story worth the bother, *Cabaret* points to a possible future of much merit, as, in different ways, do lesser but striking musicals like *The Phantom of the Paradise*, an offbeat horror tale, and *Tommy*, a splashy, vulgar, but undeniably exciting rock opera.

LIKE THE musicals, the screen comedy today needn't be compared invidiously to the comedy of old; the much-ballyhooed revival of the Marx Brothers' *Animal Crackers* inspired both a spate of gut-reaction hosannas and, encouragingly, a long hard reconsideration of the myth of the majestic old comedy. Slapstick (*The Return of the Pink Panther*), wistful parody (*Hearts of the West*), wild farce (*Love and Death*), broadbeamed boffo (John Wayne's latest, with Kate Hepburn, *Rooster Cogburn . . . and the Lady*), the send-up (*Young Frankenstein*): all these are very recent and quite delightful. Perhaps they are the circuses of the bread and circus, but good screen comedy is a balm to troubled souls, and the quality goods draw audiences displaying infinitely more discrimination than those who flock to movies filled with savagery, anti-white racism, voodoo, and other degrading refuse of an industry open, literally, to anyone able to load a movie camera with a roll of film.



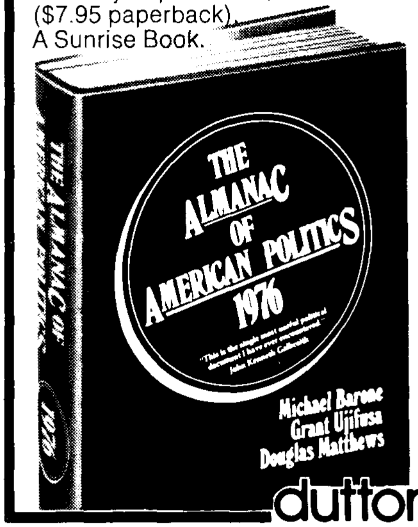
In one genre, at least, the last few years have brought a significant and beneficial change. Owing largely to censorship of both words and situations, movies and TV attempting any sort of realistic treatment of domestic scenes and relationships were for years forced into innuendo and double-entendre—into *prurience*, for such is the result of euphemism. During the past three years alone, two Ingmar Bergman films, *Cries and Whispers* and *Scenes from a Marriage*, and one by John Cassavetes, *Woman under the Influence*, have by their explicitness and seriousness carried the cinema of domestic disharmony to new and commendable heights. These have been faulted for their morbidity; they could (and I suggest should) as well be praised for their integrity. On the tube, where everything is watered down, whether because the kiddies are presumed to be watching or because the guardians of virtue are known to be watching, a salutary frankness has nonetheless crept in amidst the nonsense. Archie and Edith and Mike and Gloria have gone round and round the same territory for years, but *All in the Family*, still stratospheric in the ratings, has with fine humor and decency brought to millions of Americans a few moments in which to ponder, *inter alia*, the absurdity of reflexive queer-baiting, the pathetic quality of Archie's sexual inhibitions, and the hypocrisy of Mike's vaunted chic liberalism in husbandly role playing. We may have to search with a laser for such nuggets on television, but they are there, and in movie theaters they are there in abundance.

A survey of five years in these media, encompassing, in any case, the viewing of thousands of hours of television and, at last count, 983 films, is bound to suffer from a certain random quality. If anything, the popular visual media of this time span are harder to pin down than those of the first 15 years of *NR*'s existence. They have initiated no new thematic trends, only accelerated, or exacerbated, those bubbling up from the Sixties; they have disoriented this reviewer less, whether as a result of saturation, wisdom, or creeping senility I can't say; but they have in some very basic ways left me at sea at the cinema, drifting—as I imagine other compulsive film-goers and TV addicts find themselves drifting—between the ever-present obnoxiousness of so much of what we see, and the media's increasing technical, thematic, and thespian sophistication.

I closed in 1970 on a note of tentative despair, wondering how low we might go. I would this time prefer to close on an up: the popular visual media may yet sink into the abyss of glorified crap, but I think not. This jeweler's eye sees gems ahead. ☐

Buckley, Galbraith and Nader agree!

This all-inclusive 1100 page almanac of congressmen and senators, their records, and districts, is an invaluable reference, "spiced with intimate detail." —N. Y. Times. Updated 3rd biennial edition just published; $15.95 ($7.95 paperback).
A Sunrise Book.


THE ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS 1976
THE ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS
1976
Michael Barone
Grant Ujifusa
Douglas Matthews

dutton

READER'S SERVICE

HOW WELL WE SERVE YOU depends largely on whether you include your address label when you write us about your subscription. Please attach it to all correspondence. When moving, please give us 5 weeks notice, and paste your old address label here. Print new address below, including your ZIP code.

You may use this form to subscribe, renew, change your address—or for any other correspondence you may have with us. If you attach your mailing label at right, you will have helped us be both speedy and accurate.

REMEMBER
that Magazine and BULLETIN are on separate lists! If you are a subscriber to both, you must tell us to change both lists.

Address all inquiries or subscriptions to: National Review, Readers' Service, 150 E. 35th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

NAME ____________________
(Please print)
ADDRESS ____________________
(New address—if moving)
CITY ________ STATE ________ ZIP ________

☐ PLEASE CHANGE MY BULLETIN ADDRESS ALSO ☐ I wish to subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW for one year at the regular $15.00 rate. Please enter my ☐ new ☐ renewal subscription: ☐ payment enclosed ☐ bill me later.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

NATIONAL REVIEW *has, in the past five years, reviewed approximately one thousand books. Extracted here are, for the most part, outstanding reviews of outstanding books, books of enduring interest to* NR *readers. In a few cases, however, the reviews rise far above the books. One review—of a small book of poems—doesn't fit in either of the above categories.* —KL

■ RADICAL CHIC AND MAU-MAUING THE FLAK CATCHERS (Farrar), by Tom Wolfe, reviewed (January 26, 1971) by John Coyne. "One of the central dilemmas of our age, as we've heard now for the millionth time, involves black rage versus white guilt, and it's this dilemma which provides the unifying theme for these two pieces. . . . The occasion for "Radical Chic" was a party thrown to raise money for Black Panthers under indictment for plotting to blow up various parts of Manhattan. . . . In attendance were a pack of Panthers and a gaggle of Beautiful People. And Tom Wolfe with his tape-recorder memory. . . . Hilarious . . ."

■ BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE (Holt), by Dee Brown, reviewed (March 9, 1971) by John Greenway. "A few good books on the Indian somehow have been published, but they do not sell. The books that sell are full of tears and flapdoodle. This one has tears and flapdoodle and subtle dishonesties and mortal sins of commission and omission. . . . The book purports to be an Indian history drawn from authentic sources, which Mr. Brown tells us are 'pictographs' and 'translated English.' . . . In point of fact most of the words of the book, including the teary title *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, drip straight from the forked white tongue."

■ WILLMOORE KENDALL CONTRA MUNDUM (Arlington House), by Willmoore Kendall, reviewed (August 24, 1971) by Leo Paul S. de Alvarez. "Kendall's death at the age of 59 removed from us one of the very few contemporary interpreters of the American political tradition from whom one can truly learn. . . . It was typical of the man that he struck out alone to form his own vision of America, a vision that no one else who called himself a conservative seemed to share. The essential principle of his conservatism was a belief in the virtue of the American people, and, as a corollary, he refused to share in the pessimism of many conservatives who saw only a steady degeneration in the capacity of today's Americans to govern themselves. . . . The richness and complexity of this difficult, singular, and legendary man are here present in this book. When one reads Kendall, one is made to consider the first principles not only of American political order but of all political order."

■ THE PENTAGON PAPERS (two editions: Quadrangle Press and Beacon Press), reviewed (December 17, 1971) by David Brudnoy. "These papers are by no means as mind-boggling as their promoters would have us think. What is astounding, or devious, or, to be blunt, evil, about the most powerful nation in the world, obliged to play some role in a million different controversies, attempting to *win* a major conflict in which it finds itself? What makes these scavengers—these Ellsbergs, Gravels, and their minions—so much the embodiment of 'morality,' simply because they cry *Foul!* upon discovering that their nation is and acts like a nation, not like some Gandhiesque figment of imagination, or some Quaker-pacifist chimera?"

■ THE POUND ERA (University of California), by Hugh Kenner, reviewed (May 12, 1972) by Guy Davenport. "[*The Pound Era*] is not so much a book as a library, or better, a new kind of book in which biography, history, and the analysis of literature are so harmoniously articulated that every page has a narrative sense. Mr. Kenner's prose, always a miracle of compression and robust grace, is here brought to perfection. . . . [It] is a book to be reread and studied. For the student of modern letters it is a treasure, for the general reader it is one of the most interesting books he will ever pick up in a lifetime of reading. . . . If the modern sense of words has a history . . . [Kenner] can work that history . . . into his narrative without dropping a single strand of his complex web. The elegantly relevant digressions in *The Pound Era* might be the work of a community of scholars rather than the diligent labor of Hugh Kenner."

■ CATCH THE FALLING FLAG (Houghton Mifflin), by Richard J. Whalen, reviewed (July 7, 1972) by Jeffrey Bell. "In the year or two before Richard Nixon won the last Republican presidential nomination, a cadre of issues-oriented young conservatives repaired, one by one, to his banner. . . . The group included Martin Anderson, Patrick Buchanan, Alan Greenspan, Richard Whalen, Richard Allen, John Sears, Kevin Phillips . . . With one or two exceptions, all are unconnected with Richard Nixon and his government today. . . . 'As a Republican,' Whalen writes in his Introduction, 'I am moved to challenge the Nixon Administration's self-deception—that our party can govern successfully with borrowed ideas.' In a 'memo' to Nixon which closes the book, Whalen writes, 'The difference between what your Administration has done and proposed to do, and what a Humphrey Administration would have done, is not very significant. What *is* sadly significant is that a liberal Democratic Administration would have acted out of mistaken conviction. Your Administration's slithering to the left—to borrow a phrase from our common political hero, Churchill—is prompted by mistaken calculation.' "

■ ON THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA IN AMERICA (Harper and Row), by Irving Kristol, reviewed (July 21, 1972) by M. Stanton Evans. "For a decade and more, a small but growing number of liberal spokesmen have been carefully reviewing old positions, questioning the outcome of liberal social programs, and raising anew the theoretical questions at the basis of all politics. . . . Among the scholars and polemicists who have attempted this re-evaluation, none will better repay attention than Irving Kristol. . . . The spectacle of pandemic disorder causes Kristol to re-examine and reject the standard liberal doctrines on matters of epistemology and ethics—that beauty is in the eye of the beholder, moral right a matter of opinion, and political right whatever commends itself to 50.1 per cent of the electorate. Such ideas, he concludes, sound very well in liberated theory, but are ultimately subversive of the good society. In their place must be substituted some non-negotiable standards of virtue and justice. . . . Here is flight from liberalism indeed."

■ THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST (Random House), by David Halberstam, reviewed (February 16, 1973) by Frank N.

Trager. ". . . by any standard a book of prodigious and seriously faulted labor. It will win—it has already deservedly won—praise for many of its insights into Washington bureaucratic processes among the key 'players' and decision-makers. It will be justifiably criticized for many of its pseudo-psychological judgments. . . . I wish to call the reader's attention to two items in the book, widely separated by pages and personalities, but essentially fitting together as part of the answer to Why Vietnam: a conversation between rough-talking General Curtis LeMay and the 'glistening intellectual' from Harvard, McGeorge Bundy . . . and a draft of a National Security Paper known as Nassam 288 [drafted by John McNaughton]. . . . Both LeMay and McNaughton refer to peoples and states that succumbed or 'were lost' to 'Communist dominance.' . . . [B]oth say that if we lack the will, more peoples and states will fall to Communist dominance. 'The South Vietnam conflict,' writes McNaughton, 'is regarded ['not only in Asia but in the rest of the world'] as a test case of U.S. capacity to help a nation meet a Communist "war of liberation."' We have not yet passed that test."

■ Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work (Harper and Row), by Steven Lukes, reviewed (June 22, 1973) by Robert Nisbet. "The 1970s will almost certainly prove to be the Durkheim decade. For this we can be grateful. He is the exemplar of an objectivism that has been lacking, or at least overshadowed, for some time now. . . . 'Epochs which are regressive and in process of dissolution,' declared Goethe to Eckermann, 'are always subjective, whereas the trend in all progressive epochs is objective.' Let us be hopeful. No one . . . rivals the objective character of Durkheim. . . . It only adds to our interest to be reminded that Durkheim, one of the boldest and most original minds in modern social science, was deeply conservative. . . . Consider the following views, all held profoundly by Durkheim: authority is the key element in the social bond; discipline the primary source and sustaining context of morality. Theories that 'celebrate the beneficence of unrestricted liberties are apologies for a diseased state. . . . Through the practice of moral rules we develop the capacity to govern and regulate ourselves, which is the whole reality of liberty.'"

■ The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War (Princeton), by Robert Maddox, reviewed (August 17, 1973) by Jack Chatfield. "Out of the troubled epoch of the Vietnam War came a school of young historians who, following the lead of William Appleman Williams, began to question the orthodox interpretation of the foundations of American foreign policy. . . . [U]ntil the publication of Robert James Maddox' *The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War*, no critic of the revisionists had questioned their importance or their intellectual integrity. Now Maddox . . . has done just that. He has examined the sources—government documents, memoirs, and collected papers—and has found that, time after time, the New Left writers doctored the historical record to bring it in line with their argument. . . . Maddox' discoveries are stunning. Anyone who reads his book will have a difficult time taking cold war radical revisionism seriously."

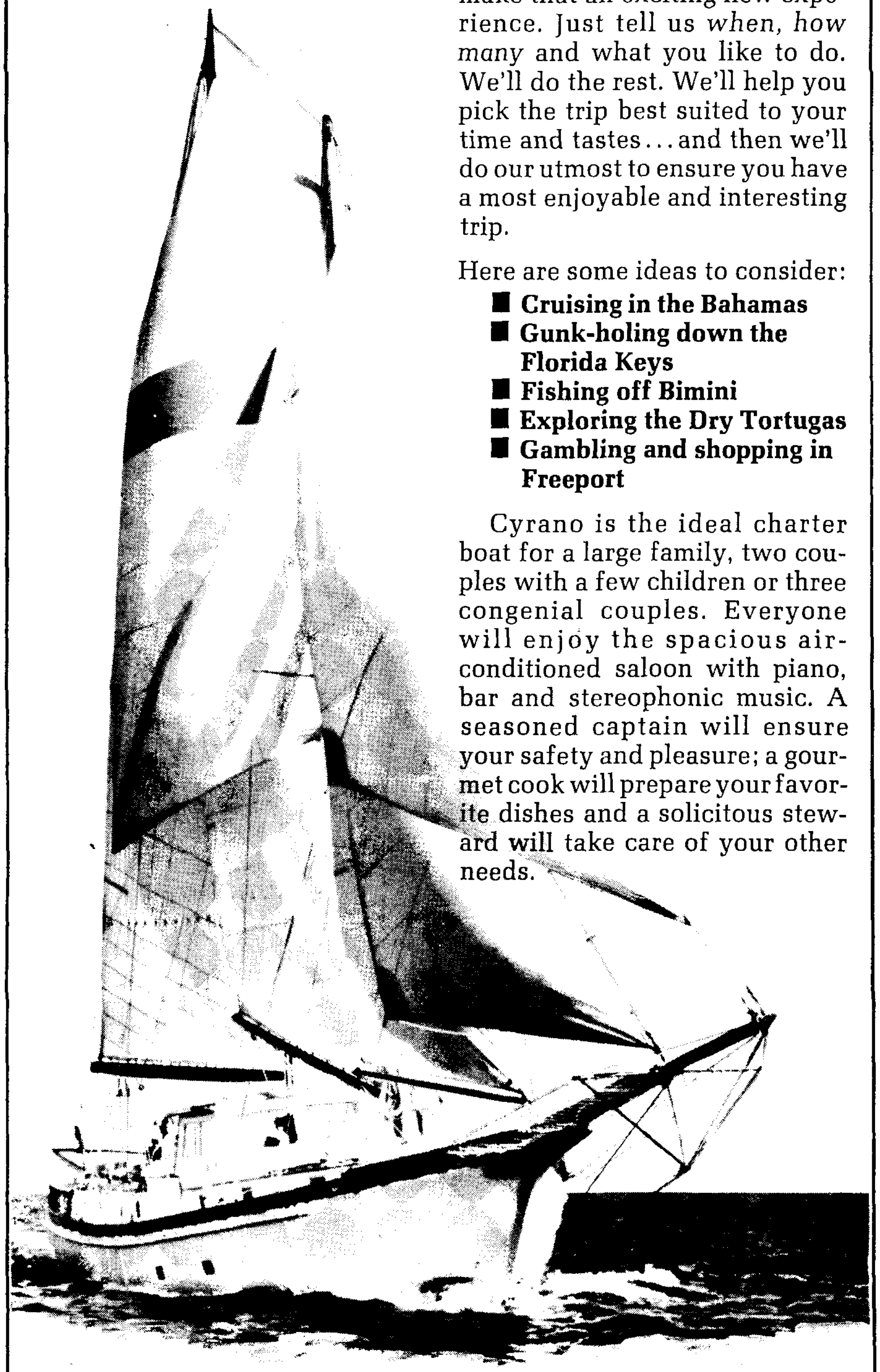
■ The Poetry of Richard Milhous Nixon (Cliff House Books), compiled by Jack Margolis, reviewed (July 19, 1974) by Hugh Kenner. "Here are no sonnets for an idle hour. Stark, terse, hardbitten, cunningly disequilibrated—tiptoe, in fact, on the needlepoint of our century's anguish—these poems speak to and for the thwarted Tamburlaine that lurks in the psyche of urban America. . . . These are poems to read in the subway, in the line at the checkout counter, beside the gaspump, wherever life is lived. . . . Once or twice a simple heartfelt lilt breaks through. . . . But more often, as in the haunting 'Who Are They After?' . . . Nixon will pare away the merely formal core to leave *Angst* freestanding: *Who/the hell/are they after?/They/are/after/us.* The mythic dimensions of this, one leaves to more eloquent pens . . ."

■ Four Reforms—A Guide for the Seventies (Putnam), by William F. Buck-

"Relax and Enjoy the latest issue of National Review while cruising the Bahama Out-Islands on the Florida Keys. Bareboat charters are now available aboard this new and fully equipped 47 foot ketch, home ported in South Florida. Licensed skippers can be obtained upon request.

Write Treasure Coast Charters,
Box 1652, Vero Beach,
Florida 32960.

Congratulations to National Review on its 20th Anniversary."



Cyrano

WINTER/SPRING CRUISING

If you've never before chartered a boat, we'll undertake to make that an exciting new experience. Just tell us *when, how many* and what you like to do. We'll do the rest. We'll help you pick the trip best suited to your time and tastes... and then we'll do our utmost to ensure you have a most enjoyable and interesting trip.

Here are some ideas to consider:

- **Cruising in the Bahamas**
- **Gunk-holing down the Florida Keys**
- **Fishing off Bimini**
- **Exploring the Dry Tortugas**
- **Gambling and shopping in Freeport**

Cyrano is the ideal charter boat for a large family, two couples with a few children or three congenial couples. Everyone will enjoy the spacious air-conditioned saloon with piano, bar and stereophonic music. A seasoned captain will ensure your safety and pleasure; a gourmet cook will prepare your favorite dishes and a solicitous steward will take care of your other needs.

Write or call today to find out more about the fun you can have when you charter CYRANO.

Mrs. Rose Flynn • *Telephone: 212-679-7330*
Caribbean Enterprises Inc.
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

ley Jr., reviewed (February 1, 1974) by James J. Kilpatrick. "[Buckley] makes bold to offer four reforms, one each in the fields of welfare, taxation, justice, and education. . . . [Concerning welfare]: Congress should appropriate funds for social welfare 'only for the benefit of those states whose per capita income is below the national average.' . . . It is also unsound to nullify the functions of federalism by imposing upon the states an asbestos blanket of regulations woven in Washington. . . . Simplification is again Mr. Buckley's aim in the field of taxation. . . . He would eliminate deductions, eliminate exemptions, abolish progressive rates of taxation, and settle for a uniform tax of 15 per cent on all income. . . . Turning to education, Mr. Buckley addresses himself to two problems that have been created by the Supreme Court's construction of the Constitution. These are the problems of racial-balance busing, and the denial of public support for private schools. In both areas, his sound conservative purpose is to eliminate manifestations of coercion from a putatively free society."

■ THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO (Harper and Row), by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, reviewed (August 2, 1974) by Francis Russell. "The penal settlements scattered across Russia and forming a state within a state, those torture islands with a population larger than many a European nation, Solzhenitsyn has called the Archipelago of Gulag. . . . He has written compulsively, fearful that what he has seen and experienced and found out might otherwise in its uniqueness be lost. His overriding concern has been that the dead anonymous victims of the slave state might still through him leave something for humanity in their deaths. It is a record written in blood. . . . Yet in his soul-shattering experience and with the luck of survival, this young Red Army officer [Solzhenitsyn] found his own soul whose existence he would previously have denied."

■ THE ORDEAL OF CIVILITY (Basic Books), by John Murray Cuddihy, reviewed (January 17, 1975) by James Burnham. "[E]very now and then . . . there is a book that counts, that makes a difference. Because of it, things are henceforth changed somewhat. . . . *The Ordeal of Civility* is a book of this sort. . . . In the narrowest sense (which is, God knows, wide enough) Cuddihy has made an interpretation of Freud (at greatest length), Marx, and (briefly) Claude Lévi-Strauss. He shows that their systems are not science but ideologies, emerging from the cultural collision brought about when the Jews, through the Emancipation that began in the late eighteenth century and still continues, left the tribal community life (the *shtetl*) of the pale and ghetto (where 'life-is-with-people') to enter the urban public space (where 'life-is-with-strangers') of the modernized, secularized-Protestant West."

Michael Oakeshott

Continued from page 1347

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND FEATURE of a state is the apparatus of governing annexed to the office of rule. The consideration here is not authority but power.

The word "power" in a political vocabulary stands, properly, for a human relationship. It means the ability to procure with certainty a wished-for response in the substantive conduct of another. And, since it is a relationship of human beings, and thus depends upon both the ability and the disposition of the respondent to make the wished-for response, this certainty can never be absolute and power can never be irresistible.

The considerations in terms of which the wished-for response is sought are the beliefs of the respondent about the consequences to himself of compliance or noncompliance to the demand. Thus, there is a relationship of power between one who makes a demand threatening the respondent with some harmful consequence if he does not comply, and a respondent who fears the threatened consequence both because of his aversion from it and because he believes there are the resources and the intention to implement the threat; or between one whose demand is joined with the promise of a satisfaction, and a respondent who is so far unwilling to forgo it that he regards it as an otherwise unobtainable necessity and who believes there are the resources and the intention to provide it. And since fear of injury or want elevated into need are the conditions of a power relationship, he who neither fears anything nor needs anything cannot be drawn into it.

Power, then, is categorically distinguished from authority. To have power does not, itself, endow a man or an office with authority; to be acknowledged to have authority does not, itself, endow a man or an office with power; and to recognize the power behind a demand, although it may be a good reason for complying with what is demanded, cannot be a reason for acknowledging an obligation to do so. Thus, a well-informed blackmailer and his fearful subject may be said to stand to one another in a transitory relationship of power.

In a modern state there is a carefully assembled, durable apparatus of power annexed to the office of authority. Its ingredients do not themselves entail a relationship of power. They are the procedures, inventions, devices, machines, and contrivances of all sorts which in modern times have greatly increased our information about what is going on and the certainty with which it may be controlled—which, for the most part, is at the disposal of anyone who can afford to use it for the satisfaction of his wants. They compose an apparatus of power when they are mobilized and deployed to exact, under threat of injury or disadvantage, specific performances from assignable agents.

But where, as in a modern state, such an apparatus is annexed to an office of authority, both its ingredients and its employment are subject to conditions. The only legitimate use of this apparatus is to enforce subscription to the rules and arrangements to which the associates are already obligated to subscribe; and the threatened disadvantageous consequences are penalties and not merely injuries. In short, what turns a person into a subject of this apparatus of power is not merely his fears or needs but his failure to fulfill an obligation. And in a state this apparatus is the only power that the associates may legally invoke for the protection of themselves or be required to submit to. What it adds to an association constituted in the acknowledgment of the authority of an office of rule is the assurance, or at least the expectation, that obligations cannot be breached with impunity.

Nevertheless, this apparatus of power has always been regarded with immense suspicion and has been the subject of continuous political concern; that is, concern about the desirability of its components and the manner in which it is exercised. And we are equipped with a vocabulary that enables us to identify these components and debate these desirabilities. The first consideration, of course, is that the apparatus of power should be indissolubly linked with the office of authority; the situation where this is not so is called a "tyranny." The second consideration is that this link between power and authority should be preserved exactly and in all its detail: the consideration that an apparatus of power is liable to corruption and the desirability of avoiding this mischief. Thirdly, this apparatus has been inspected for what, in the change of moral opinion, may be recognized as excess both in its procedures of investigation and in the penalties it exacts. For it is well known that certainty in detecting delinquency and totally effective penalties may be achieved at too great a moral cost. And lastly, it may be considered, not in relation to its authority, but in respect to its being commensurate with the engagements of a government. These are all themes proper to political reflection and they have been explored continuously in relation to a modern state. But, alas, muddle has intervened. "Power" is now the most abused word in our language of politics.

> ***Where a gangster and a policeman, a murderer and an executioner are recognized solely as repositories of power, they become indistinguishably objectionable***

For long enough now for it to have achieved a sort of orthodoxy, we have had urged upon us the doctrine that ruling is the exercise of power and that a state is an association constituted by an apparatus of power. A few of the proponents of this doctrine have tried to persuade us that "power" here is not even a human relationship, such as that between a potentate with wants to satisfy and fearful or needy subjects, but is merely the stimulation of behavior, like an electric shock and the commensurate muscular twitch it causes. But this is easily recognized as the very worst of modernistic rot: even torturers seek something more from their victims (a confession or an admission) than the evidence of suffering pain.

But even where this apparatus is properly understood as setting up a relationship of demand and contingent response, the doctrine that ruling is the exercise of power is a half-baked affair. It allows only an inquiry into the source of this power, the effect of its exercise, and the acceptability of this effect. Having no place for the idea of authority, it is unable to recognize the difference between legitimate and illegitimate power; and it has become the occasion for the now common confusion that obscures, and often denies, the difference between being robbed and being fined for a failure to fulfill an obligation. And where being robbed and being fined or taxed, where being kidnapped and being gaoled are understood only in terms of the exercise of power, where a gangster and a policeman, a murderer and an executioner are recognized solely as repositories of power, they become indistinguishably objectionable, or the second is thought to be even more reprehensible than the first. We are then on the way to the fashionable doctrine that robbing and ruling are alike unacceptable exertions of power, a doctrine that lies behind some of the sillier political pronouncements and some of the more eccentric pleadings we now hear in courts of law.

Nor is the confusion resolved when the doctrine that identifies ruling with the exercise of power is merely qualified by a smuggled-in reference to authority. The office of rule in a modern state cannot be understood as merely the authorized custodian and operator of an apparatus of power, and a state cannot be persons associated merely in the recognition of the legitimacy of this apparatus. Before all else, this office is that of a prescriber of rules of conduct; the relationship set up with its subjects is not a power relationship of compulsion and obedience but a relationship of authority and obligation. And its authority to enforce the fulfillment of obligations derives from its authority to prescribe them.

What is here attributed to a state is a well-known mode of association: that in which a Many becomes One in virtue of a common substantive engagement

Thus, ruling may properly be identified with the exercise of power only where the conduct enforced is understood *not* to be the fulfillment of obligations but compliance with the demands of merely powerful persons, a purported "dominant class" or the operators of a *coup d'état*; that is, where the ruler is identified as a "tyrant." And ruling may be properly identified with the exercise of legitimate power only where there is a lingering belief that the obligations thus enforced do not derive from the authority of the office of rule but from God or Nature. This is the fanciful doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, in which governments are said to exist merely to *secure* rights that they have not themselves the authority to prescribe, and where the "consent" of subjects can legitimize nothing more than the apparatus of power which is necessary to provide that security.

The apparatus of power in a modern state, then, provides plenty for us to think about, but our exploration of this theme has been more than a little muddled.

CHAPTER IV

THE THIRD FEATURE of a modern state is its character as an association of human beings. Here, the consideration is neither authority nor power but the relationship of the associates to one another and the engagements of the office of rule.

For two or more persons to compose an association is for them to be related to one another in terms of some recognized conditions of association that they may make for themselves or accept ready-made. These conditions may be displayed in somewhat vague customs of conduct, they may be spelled out in a rule-book, or they may be declared in an acknowledged common purpose. Thus, associates are never whole persons. They are *personae*; that is, persons in their relation to one another in terms of some specified conditions: brothers, partners in business, colleagues, playmates, comrades, friends, and so on. No one such relationship can exhaust the associational potentialities of any man; there can be no unconditional human relationship (that is, persons related but not by particular conditions); and there is no *ensemble* in which all relationships coalesce in the sense that our common use of the word "society" suggests. If the word "social" is used to denote a relationship, it must be some particular relationship distinguished from all others. To investigate the character of a state as an association is, then, to consider the mode of association it constitutes and the *persona* that these particular conditions of relationship impose upon the associates.

Now, the conditions that constitute a state as an association are the actual obligations prescribed by its office of authority. Consequently, an inquiry into the character of such an association is an inquiry, not into the beliefs that give authority to this office, but into the obligations it uses its authority to prescribe, and into the *persona* that these obligations actually impose upon those who are subject to its rule. In other words, it is an inquiry into the engagements of government; and, if the word "citizen" may stand for the *persona* concerned, it is an investigation of this *persona* and not of any other that other relationships may generate.

This, then, is the third great theme of political reflection in regard to a modern state, distinguished and continuously explored since the sixteenth century. And since a modern state has never ceased to be recognized as an association in the making, attention has always been directed to the sort of association it might be made to become no less than to what it may be perceived to be. But the exploration of this theme has been sadly hindered by confusion.

First, it is usually conducted in terms of the vocabularies of authority or of power; but in this connection these words are meaningless. To say, for example, that the conditions of association are or should be "democratic" is absurd. The word "democracy" denotes, not the engagements of a government, but a belief in which an office of rule is recognized to have authority; there are no "democratic" rules of relationships. And the obligations in terms of which "citizens" are associated cannot be characterized by the power to enforce them. Secondly, this inquiry has been almost obliterated by drivel about something called "society," a fanciful total of unspecified relationships which only a simpleton would think of identifying with a state.

Nevertheless, over the years two tolerably distinct (and many very indistinct) doctrines have emerged about the character of a state as an association of human beings—

both, of course, concerned not only with what a state may be perceived to be but also with what it might be made to become.

In the first of these doctrines a state is presented to us as an association of human beings related to one another in terms of their joint pursuit of some recognized substantive purpose. The associates are obligated to engage in this common enterprise, the custodian of which is the office of authority. What is here attributed to a state, or is said to be what a state may or should be made to become, is a well-known mode of association: that in which a Many becomes One in virtue of a common substantive engagement. Let me briefly sketch its general character before considering it in relation to a state.

Modern history is littered not only with visions, in various idioms, of a state as a purposive association, but also with projects to impose this character upon a state

The central feature is the uniting purpose in terms of which the associates are related to one another. This purpose must be known to the associates and it must be a substantive condition of things to be procured or an interest in such a condition of things to be promoted. But, since pursuing such a purpose necessarily means responding to emergent situations by choosing to do *this* rather than *that* in the hope of procuring a wished-for outcome favorable to the achievement of the purpose, those who are associated in this manner are related to one another not only in recognizing their joint purpose but in making such choices (or acknowledging them as their own choices) and in performing such actions. It is association in terms of substantive conduct instrumental to the purpose concerned. If such an association has rules for the conduct of the associates, then these also are instrumental rules whose desirability lies in their propensity to promote, or at least not to hinder, the pursuit of the purpose. The government of such an association is a managerial engagement and the *persona* it imposes upon the associates is that of servants of the purpose.

This is a familiar mode of association; it is hardly surprising that a state should have invoked this understanding of itself and that inquiry concerned with a state as an association should have been directed to the specification of the purpose or interest attributable to it.

There were serious difficulties with this particular view and they have not diminished. A state as it emerged in the sixteenth century was a supremely miscellaneous collection of communities without a common history, language, or law, divided from one another ethnically, in customs, and often in religious beliefs. And the states that have since emerged all over the globe are no different in this respect. As an emergent association, a state certainly was not a Many become One in virtue of thinking the same thoughts and having a common substantive purpose, and there was little to suggest that it might be made to become so. Michel de l'Hôpital had no illusions about sixteenth century France in this respect, and Madison had none about the United States of America.

But the belief that this is what a state might or should be made to become was not without circumstantial nourishment. Some modern states emerged from patrimonial estates and thus started life as enterprise associations of a sort; the governments of all modern states have a by no means recessive ingredient of "lordship," ill-distinguished from their office as rulers, which entailed ownership and a managerial engagement; and in more recent times the mission of creating a communal solidarity has been attributed to the office of authority. Modern history is littered not only with visions, in various idioms, of a state as a purposive association, but also with projects to impose this character upon a state.

This undertaking appeared first in a religious idiom, with the state understood as a solidarity in terms of religious belief and the substantive conduct that went with it. Its high point was late sixteenth century Geneva, and there are still states that affect the character of religious communities. But this idiom of solidarity is reflected now, first, in the vision of a state as an association constituted (at least in part) in the enjoyment of a carefully guarded orthodoxy of beliefs about this and that and in propagating this orthodoxy in the world at large; and secondly, in the view that the ties of association in a state are not quite what they should be unless they include a consensus of belief about certain important matters other than the authority of its government —what Tocqueville called "an independent convergence of outlook," citizens joined in thinking the same thoughts and loving the same things.

The so-called "enlightened" rulers of the eighteenth century understood themselves to be the guardians of a comprehensive "national interest" with a mission to harness their subjects' activities to its promotion and to educate them in the parts they should play. And while these rulers leant heavily upon their characters as, in part, seigneurial lords, some of their constitutional successors have aspired to become "democratic" managers of "the social development of the nation." It is now four centuries since there was laid before us in all its detail the vision of a state as a development corporation, its members related to one another as "workers" in a collective undertaking devoted to the maximum exploitation of its resources and managed by a board of directors; where "law" is the instrumental rules of a corporate enterprise and where "politics" (if any) is contention about who gets what, when and how, urging upon the managers some marginally different "alternative" purpose, and voting them into office on the rare occasion when they are not *coup d'étatistes*. This is the idiom of a state as a purposive association that has now become most familiar to us.

But grandiose constructions of this sort (never quite matching the prospect) are not the only products of this vision of a state as a corporate enterprise; it has displayed itself also in temporary expedients to promote affluence or diminish poverty and in bursts of missionary zeal toward the world at large, and it has acquired a seductively confused vocabulary in which to recommend itself.

It intrudes wherever a state is thought of as associates related in terms of common substantive aims or "goals," a comprehensive "national interest" or "National Idea"; where the *persona* attributed to the citizen is that of the servant of a "national program" or the follower of an inspired "leader"; where the engagement attributed to government is that of "articulating the national values," "defining the national goals," "marshaling the national will," or "transforming society." And this vision intrudes, of course, when a state is at war, and all the more decisively when the war is thought of as a crusade.

Words such as organic, authoritarian, collectivist, and totalitarian are often used to describe a state thus understood. And all the old words such as "liberal," "progressive," "democratic," "dictatorial" are corrupted still further in its service. The condition of things aimed at, the "national goal," is variously described, the favorite expression now being something called "social justice" (that is, a preferred distribution of goods). The relationship it establishes between the associates is commonly called "social" (that is, relationship in terms of the satisfaction of substantive wants), and the "lordship" that has here devoured rulership is said to be "planning" or "management" or "leadership." It was this vision of the character of a state that Tocqueville pointed to, without approval, when he said in 1848: "You must understand that the passions of men, from being political, have now become social."

Ruling here has no ingredient of "lordship," and rulers can perform their office only because they have no substantive interest of their own and are indifferent to the substantive interests of their subjects

In the other, somewhat older, doctrine the mode of association attributed to a state is relationship in terms of non-instrumental rules of conduct, called "the law." And by calling these rules "non-instrumental" I mean that they are not rules that specify a practice or routine purporting to promote the achievement of a substantive purpose. They are more like (although they are not exactly like) the rules of a game which are directions, not about how to win but about how to play, or the rules of public debate, which do not tell a speaker what to say and are wholly indifferent to any particular conclusion. These non-instrumental rules specify and prescribe, not choices to be made or actions to be performed, but conditions to be subscribed to in choosing and acting. Like all other rules they exist in advance of conduct, but they are incapable of initiating action or utterance. Association here is not in terms of the projected or the actual outcome of what is done, but in terms of formal conditions to be subscribed to in doing. If the word "civility," or indeed the word "justice," were taken to stand for the general character of these conditions of conduct, then a state thus understood would be recognized as a "civil association" or association in terms of "just" conduct. And since the injunction to act "civilly" or "justly" is not an injunction to perform any substantive action whatever, a state, in this understanding of it, is a moral and not a purposive association.

Persons thus associated may be otherwise assumed to be agents seeking the satisfaction of their various wants and related to some others in all or any of the ways in which human beings may be related; but in *persona civica* they exist and are related solely in respect to their obligations to observe the conditions prescribed in these non-instrumental rules of conduct. They have no common substantive purpose, but they have a common concern.

This, then, is a distinct mode of association—relationship in terms of obligations to subscribe to non-instrumental rules of conduct that are indifferent to the success or to the failure of the substantive enterprises being pursued. The engagements of the office of rule in such an association and the apparatus of power annexed to it will reflect this mode of association. They will be neither managerial nor conciliatory of interests. Ruling here has no ingredient of "lordship," and rulers can perform their office only because they have no substantive interest of their own and are indifferent to the substantive interests of their subjects. They are custodians of the rules that constitute this mode of association. And politics in such a state, concerned with deliberating, from the standpoint of their desirability, the civil obligations imposed upon the conduct of the associates, cannot be concerned with who gets what, when and how, because these rules are not awards of advantage or disadvantage. It cannot be the consideration of the propensity of these rules to promote or hinder the achievement of a common substantive purpose; there is none.

A rule of civil association is desirable in respect to the accuracy with which it reflects, or does not affront, the moral imagination of the associates when it is directed to what they have learned to distinguish as a relationship not of moral perfection but of civility or justice. There are, in this matter, no absolute standards; this moral imagination, concerned with civil obligations, is all there is. Nevertheless, this political engagement to deliberate the rules that spell out an acceptable image of civility is the most difficult of all human engagements simply because it has no place for the consideration of what is most readily considered, namely, interests.

Now, this mode of association attributed to a state, or said to be what a state should be made to become, is grossly misunderstood and misdescribed both by those who think it a desirable mode of association for a state and those who do not. For the most part, we know it now only in the parodies it has evoked.

The use of the word "democracy" to describe it is an elementary mistake; this word properly denotes neither a mode of association nor the engagements of a government but its constitutional shape. But the description of civil association as relationship in terms of the enjoyment of "rights" is as profoundly misleading as it is common, even where "rights" are not confused with allocations of substantive satisfactions.

The rules of civil association specify and prescribe, as exactly as may be, the obligations to be subscribed to in doing and speaking. What they remove from the scene is not choice of what to do or to say but a notional unconditional choice. The associates are related in the recognition of their obligation to observe these conditions. And it cannot be otherwise. Nevertheless, this sort of association is often said to be relationhip not in terms of obligations but in the enjoyment of "rights." But what can these "rights" be? They cannot be the fanciful unconditionals ("liberty" or "the pursuit of happiness") because it is precisely this unconditionality of conduct that the obligation to subscribe to conditions removes. They cannot denote the postulate of human agency (choice); this can neither be assured nor taken away by rules of conduct and without it rules of conduct are meaningless. Nor can they be exemptions from obligations, although this is often what they are made to appear. These "rights" are in fact the totally unspecifiable obverse of civil obligations—the right to "privacy," to a fair trial, or the newly announced "basic right to reproduce"—that become determinate and lose their deceptive appearance of being unconditionals only when they are specified in a collection of exactly described obligations. The language of rights is the language of pretended unconditionals and misdescribes the terms of civil association.

Further, it is commonly said that, in contrast to that of a purposive association, the government of a civil association is notably "inactive," indisposed to "intervene" in the conduct of its subjects, or permitted to do so only to a "limited" extent. Such an association is called a "minimal" state. But to distinguish between these two modes of association in terms of different amounts of "interference" by their governments is a total misrepresentation, making the distinction appear to be one of degree and not of mode, and distracting our attention from the political choice they offer us. Wherever our preference lies, it is unscrupulous or foolish to describe the first merely as a more thoroughly organized version of the second, and the second as only a diminished or "moderate" version of the first.

And again, a state understood as a civil association is frequently described by its friends as a "free enterprise" or "private enterprise" association, and is identified by its detractors with something called "capitalism" and denigrated as the "anarchy of laissez-faire." But civil association is not relationship in terms of the pursuit of any enterprise whatever, "public" or "private." The *persona civica* is not that of a bargainer for the satisfaction of wants; it is a subject of obligations. And "capitalism," if it means anything, denotes a strategic device for satisfying wants and the relationships concerned in that enterprise. Only a state that is itself an enterprise can properly be called a "capitalist" state, and only in that context can this word have a political meaning. And surely it is time we gave up the ludicrous notions that the phrase laissez-faire ever stood for unconditional conduct and that what is needed to turn anarchy into order is not the recognition of some non-instrumental rules of conduct but the appointment of a manager.

Finally, the saddest of all the misunderstandings of a state as a civil association: that in which it is properly presented as association in terms of non-instrumental conditions imposed upon conduct and specified in general rules from whose obligations no associate and no conduct is exempt, but defended as the mode of association more likely than any other to promote and to go on promoting the satisfaction of our diverse and proliferant wants. Prosperity may be the likely contingent outcome of civil association, but to recommend it in these terms is to recommend something other than civil association.

CHAPTER V

IT IS THE MARK of all intelligent discourse that it is about something in particular. When it loses itself in a morass of cross-purposes in which utterances slide by one another it may be recalled by asking, What are we supposed to be talking about? And thus it is with politics. Political talk is inevitably concerned with local and transitory situations, but it will not go far before one of those haunting words is uttered (democracy, freedom, rights, justice) and we become aware that we are talking about a state—that strange association of human beings, of debatable character, at once supremely artificial and supremely inartistic, that nevertheless constitutes a specific human relationship and endows its otherwise miscellaneous components with a specific *persona*, whatever it may be.

This talk has been going on a long time. It has at its disposal a large vocabulary that I think is now in a condition of considerable confusion; and a messy vocabulary presages a messy conversation. Very early the chief constitutive characteristics of a state were discerned to be an office of authority, an apparatus of power, and a mode of association clearly displayed in the engagements of its office of authority. All our political talk, whether it concerns air pollution, the busing of children to school, or whatever, is about one or another of these characteristics, postulating for it an alleged desirable shape. And most of its current mistiness comes from our failure to recognize that each is a distinct matter of consideration and to recognize which it is we are on any occasion concerned with.

We have argued ourselves into an inability to distinguish between power exercised in order to secure the fulfillment of obligations and power exerted to satisfy a want

In the emergence of a modern state the office of authority was, necessarily, the chief concern of political deliberation, and it has never ceased to be important. The question, In respect of what shape or constitution can we acknowledge this office to have an antecedent right to rule?, has nowhere received anything but an interim answer, and after years of close attention we have become impatient with it. We accept without misgiving the old vague words "democratic," "republican," etc. as good enough descriptions of the desirable shape, or we resort to meaningless expressions such as "majority rule." Or we dismiss the question as of no importance. But our current indifference to it has deeply corrupted the conduct of rulers and ruled alike, and goes far to account for the ramshackle character of most modern states.

The apparatus of power annexed to this office of authority has been relentlessly inspected and discussed, but the consideration given to it has become progressively more confused. Earlier generations were properly apprehensive lest it become detached from the office of authority and acquire a momentum of its own; standing armies were objects of suspicion and emergent so-called bureaucracies were regarded with mistrust. But we have now come to think of this apparatus merely in terms of our approval or disapproval of the outcome of its exercise: more power to it if it does what we want. We have argued ourselves into an inability to distinguish between power exercised in order to secure the fulfillment of obligations and power exerted to satisfy a want. We have even come to identify this apparatus with the office of government itself, and we seek to protect ourselves from it with the absurd device of a Bill of Rights.

But it is the third theme—the mode of association attributed to a state—that has now captured most of our attention. It is not a new theme—they were discussing it in the sixteenth century—but it is now our central concern. And how sadly confused is our handling of it. It is ill-distinguished from the other themes; often we do not get even to the point of recognizing that it concerns the particular relationship that human beings may have as members of a state. The modes of association that may be and have been attributed to a state are ill-specified and ill-distinguished from one another—or worse, they are mistaken for points on what is called the spectrum of political belief in this matter. The words in which we struggle to express this particular alignment of political belief are sadly inadequate. It is not a contrast between dictatorship and democracy (these are authority-words), or between Left and Right (these merely represent an insignificant squabble about the common purpose to be imposed upon a state already assumed to be a purposive association). The words Liberal and Conservative are already so overloaded with meanings that they must fail to be explicit here. And those who understand it in terms of Communism and Capitalism, collectivism and free enterprise, centralism and pluralism, merely add to the confusion by suggesting a substantive purpose for civil association. This alignment of political belief is not between those who value purposive association and those who do not, or between those who have a compassionate regard for their fellow men and those who have none; it concerns only the character of a *state* as an association of human beings.

We must get to know, not only our opponents, but ourselves more exactly than we do at present; we must defend our position with reasons appropriate to it; and we must refuse to entangle ourselves with equivocal alliances

We who (if I may presume) are disposed to elect for a state as a civil association have, perhaps, a harder task than our opponents, who are well served by the confusion into which political discourse has fallen. They have a ready response from those who are not averse from the warm embrace of even a compulsory *solidarité commune*, who are not dismayed when they find themselves bound to ends they have not chosen for themselves, particularly when (as part of the bargain) they are allocated a so-called "social income" of unknown value. And perhaps we should not be so eager as we often are to disturb them. But the cooler virtues of civil association have much to recommend them, especially to those disposed to choose their own destinations even if they do not reach them. After all, this least burdensome of all human relationships in terms of obligations to subscribe to non-instrumental rules of conduct is the only kind of association that excludes no other and that mitigates conflict without imposing uniformity. And it is particularly appropriate to a state because it is the only morally tolerable form of compulsory association.

But if we are to make better known this most notable human invention, we must stop hiding behind such irrelevant expressions as "democracy" and "capitalism," and such ambiguous expressions as "conservative" and "moderate"; we must get to know, not only our opponents, but ourselves more exactly than we do at present; we must defend our position with reasons appropriate to it; and we must refuse to entangle ourselves with equivocal alliances.

There was once, so Schopenhauer tells us, a colony of porcupines. They were wont to huddle together on a cold winter's day and, thus wrapped in communal warmth, escape being frozen. But, plagued with the pricks of each other's quills, they drew apart. And every time the desire for warmth brought them together again, the same calamity overtook them. Thus they remained, distracted between two misfortunes, able neither to tolerate nor to do without one another, until they discovered that when they stood at a certain distance from one another they could both delight in one another's individuality and enjoy one another's company. They did not attribute any metaphysical significance to this distance, nor did they imagine it to be an independent source of happiness, like finding a friend. They recognized it to be a relationship in terms not of substantive enjoyments but of contingent considerabilities that they must determine for themselves. Unknown to themselves, they had invented civil association. □

BUCKLEY

(Continued from page 1379)

mer assistant editor), and is now head of the Liberty Fund, a foundation that will, under his guidance, resurrect out-of-print conservative classics. David's latest book, out this fall, is *The Torture Doctor*, about Henry H. Holmes, the nineteenth century Chicago physician who is listed in the *Guinness Book of World Records* as "the most prolific murderer known in recent criminal history." Tim Wheeler continues to write offbeat editorial paragraphs for *NR* and to cover stories ("Microeconomics, Macrofellowship," *NR*, Sept. 26, 1975), provided the event he is covering takes place within a few hundred miles of his native Indiana.

Ross McKenzie was a senior at Yale the summer he did the basic research for *The Committee and Its Critics*, the definitive study of HUAC on which a number of *NR* editors collaborated. Ross served his newspaper apprenticeship under James Jackson Kilpatrick, and succeeded Kilpatrick as editorial page editor of the *Richmond News-Leader*. (H. Haldane Hill, onetime *NR* circulation manager, later joined Ross at the *News-Leader*).

Arlene Croce, who made it from assistant editor to Senior Editor in a spectacularly short time, left *NR* to pursue a consuming interest in the ballet. She edits *Ballet Review*, which she founded, and is *The New Yorker*'s ballet reviewer. Her *Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers Book* was a National Book Award nominee. Chris and Pat (Carr) Simonds stood New York and NATIONAL REVIEW for better than five years before retiring to the Connecticut countryside to teach, depriving *NR* of a brilliant writer (Chris), and a first-class editor (Pat). Farley Clinton went from *NR* to *Triumph*. He now free-lances, mostly for the Catholic press, and has recently completed a book on Father Coughlin. Peter Witonski is a fellow at the Hoover Institution in California this year, working on *Leftists Move Right: The Ideologue as Convert*, which studies the impact of converted leftists on Right ideologies since the French Revolution. He also edited the four-volume *Wisdom of Conservatism* (Arlington House).

Jeff Bell could, at 18, tell you not only who the six Republican congressmen in Iowa were but whether they would be re-elected come November, so informed was he in matters political. But his physical sloth the summer he worked for *NR* led to the formation of "The Committee to Get Jeff Bell Moving Again," which, by Labor Day, Bill Rickenbacker had amended to "The Committee to Get Jeff Bell Moving." Since then Jeff has moved far and fast in conservative circles. At present he's a moving force in the Reagan for President committee. Jim Manzi helped research Bill Buckley's *United Nations Journal*; he's now a reporter on a Gannett daily paper in Westchester County. Cliff Leonard Jr. was very active in James Edwards' gubernatorial campaign in South Carolina in 1974—one of the few important GOP triumphs that season. Cliff is studying for a Master's in journalism at Georgetown. Vicki Marani, editorial typist summer of '73, editorial assistant '74, is back at *NR* as copy editor, taking a year off from her studies between Yale and law school.

There were others who came to work at *NR* on slightly different levels. Stan Evans, for instance, fresh out of Yale, never worked in the *NR* editorial offices in New York, but he was the intrepid editor of *NR*'s first (and only) regional (Louisville) edition, an idea whose time had evidently not come. In addition to writing the "At Home" column in the

CONGRATULATIONS

to
Bill Buckley
and
the staff of
National Review
for the past twenty years
and
for the next millennium

GAME
of
Stock
Selection

BOARD & DICE
NO DARTS

Select stocks from leading exchanges.

Record your choices and see how you fare in the real-life stock market.

Adults and young adults.

Pocket Games Div.
COOL-U CORP.
P.O. Box 492
Jacksonville, Fla. 32201

Please send ________ Stock Selection Games @ $3.50 ea.

Name________________

Address________________

____

NR 12-5 Zip

BING CROSBY

Bulletin for nearly a decade, Stan handles most of our political rundowns and some political book reviewing. He edited the *Indianapolis News* for many years, is now a *Human Events* columnist, chairman of the ACU, and a force to be reckoned with in conservative political circles (*nota bene*, Jerry Ford).

Don Coxe, who was drawn, forcibly, to our attention after burning former Senate Internal Security Subcommittee counsel William A. Rusher in effigy while still at law school in Toronto, subsequently met Rusher, was charmed by him, and came to work for *NR*. He left *NR* a year later to return to Canada and the law. He is now an insurance executive in Toronto. He continues to cover the Canadian scene for *NR* and may be the Stan Evans of Tory politics.

John Coyne was hired on the basis of three or four trenchant articles he sent in freelance from Berkeley during the Free Speech days. His first book, *The Kumquat Statement*, caught the eye of Vice President Spiro Agnew and before you could say fat Jap, John was on Agnew's staff. He is probably the only man in history to have worked as a speechwriter for two Presidents (Nixon and Ford) and two Vice Presidents (Agnew and Ford) in the space of a single year. Alan Reynolds, also hired on the basis of freelance articles that impressed not only us but Milton Friedman, has carried the economic load in the editorial section of the magazine for the past couple of years. Alan, an economist who writes cogently and understandably, is, as such, a commodity in short supply, which commodities, as he is the first to tell us, are bid up in the open market. We regret to announce his departure to a far better paying job with Argus Research.

Neal Freeman worked partly for the editorial department, partly as Bill Buckley's assistant. He was the "keeper of the body" during Buckley's 1965 mayoralty campaign and went from there to King Features, where he is now editor-in-chief. Neal is a Director of NATIONAL REVIEW as is Lawry Chickering, a young California lawyer, who came to *NR* for a couple of years in Freeman's slot and now heads The Institute for Contemporary Studies. His first book, *Violence and the Verbal Class*, is at the printers.

Phil McCombs spent three summers at *NR*—that's the all-time record—and managed to finish his subsequent military service just in time to become

(Continued on page 1432)

Happy
Birthday
NR
and
WFB

Vieux

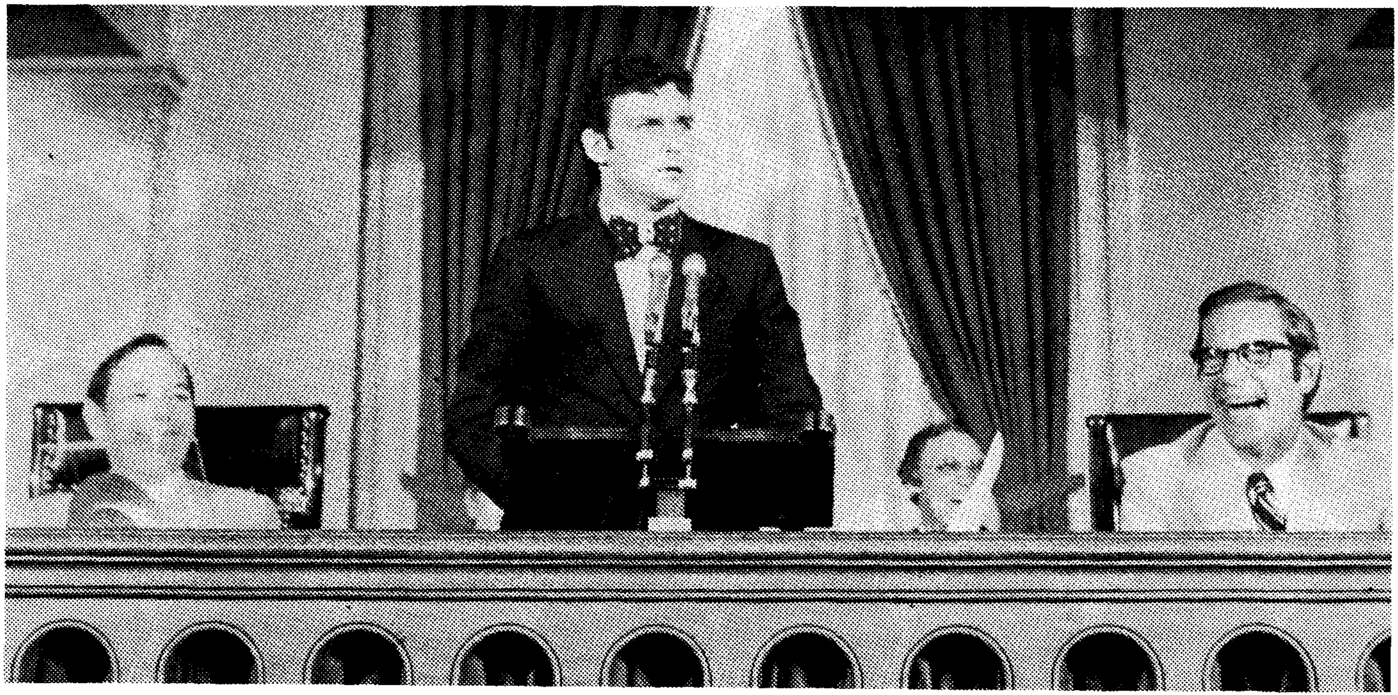
◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

Congratulations
to the staff of National Review
FROM
PEACOCK FRUIT & CATTLE CORP.

Producers
of Fine
Citrus and
Brangus
Beef Cattle

Fort Pierce, Florida

◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆



R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., editor of *The Alternative*, delivering remarks after receiving an award from the American Institute for Public Service, in the Old Supreme Court Chamber. (Left to right, Sen. Robert A. Taft, Tyrrell, Rep. John H. Buchanan, Hon. William E. Simon.)

The Editor of 'The Alternative' Speaks; The Secretary of the Treasury Laughs

For that matter so do the senior Senator from Ohio, Senator Robert A. Taft, Jr., and Alabama's Republican Congressman, John H. Buchanan. No matter how burdensome one's cross might be, Tyrrell makes people laugh. So does *The Alternative*.

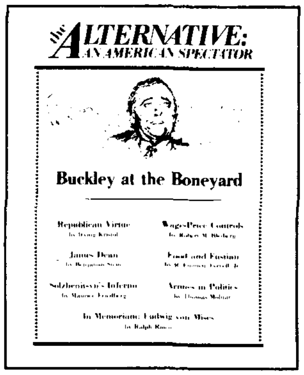
Thousands of people laugh each month to *The Alternative*'s regular features such as "The Continuing Crisis," an offbeat review of the month's momentous events; "Current Wisdom," an assemblage of the latest idiotic statements of radical-chic gurus; and "The Bootblack Stand," a "Dear Abby"-style column which provides personal and political advice to America's leading statesmen. They laugh at *The Alternative*'s generally irreverent view of politics and politicos.

The Alternative also makes people think. Through regular features, serious essays, and book reviews, *The Alternative* provides thought-provoking analysis of a wide range of domestic and foreign policy issues—and discussions of cultural and literary interest.

The Alternative is one of the few magazines in America that is successful in combining merriment and thoughtfulness. This combination has caused Congressman Philip Crane to describe *The Alternative* as "one of young conservatism's most promising institutions."

Join Secretary Simon, Congressman Crane, William F. Buckley, M. Stanton Evans, and others who laugh and think with *The Alternative*. Join the thousands of other readers who see *The Alternative* as a merry respite from the heavy burdens of this world. Subscribe now ...and Happy Days!

Join William E. Simon, William F. Buckley, Philip M. Crane, M. Stanton Evans, and thousands of other readers who enjoy exciting, intelligent writing about ideas. Subscribe now to 'The Alternative.'



the ALTERNATIVE: AN AMERICAN SPECTATOR

Buckley at the Boneyard

Republican Virtue

Wage-Price Controls

James Dean

Food and Fustian

Solzhenitsyn's Inferno

Armies in Politics

In Memoriam: Ludwig von Mises

THE ALTERNATIVE, P.O. Box 877, Bloomington, IN 47401

Please enter a one year subscription (ten issues) for $8. I understand that if I am not satisfied after my first issue arrives I may cancel my subscription within fourteen days and receive a full refund.

(please print)

Name______________________________

Address______________________________

City______________________________

State____________________ **Zip**__________

nr 2

CONSULTANTS
HILL

SERVING THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY:

Owners
Contractors
Government

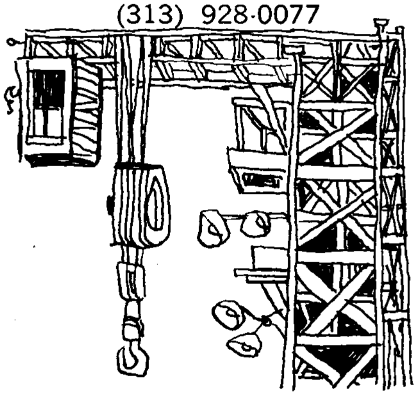
MANAGEMENT:
Feasibility Studies
Site Engineering
Project Supervision
Scheduling
Value Engineering

DESIGN:
Highways
Parking Facilities
Airports
Hydraulic Structures

QUALITY CONTROL:
Materials Testing
Inspection

DOMESTIC & MIDDLE EAST

HILL
CONSULTANTS, INC.
DETROIT
(313) 928-0077



BUCKLEY

(Continued from page 1430)

"keeper of the body" in James Buckley's successful 1970 senatorial campaign. Phil, who had volunteered for service in Vietnam, was a *Stars and Stripes* correspondent. He was hired by the *Washington Post* as a reporter at the end of the 1970 campaign. He was the *Post*'s Indochina correspondent for the last two years of the war (during which time he collaborated with fellow *Post* reporter Kevin Klose on a fast-paced novel, *The Typhoon Shipments*). He was airlifted out of Saigon the day the city fell and, at mess on an aircraft carrier the following morning, was asked by a fellow evacuee, "Are you McCombs?" and told, "I'm awfully sorry. Priscilla Buckley told me to look you up and I never got around to it." McCombs has won a fellowship at the Asia Institute in Hawaii, and is working on another book.

Ebullient, blond David Condit, our assistant the summer of '72, bounced back in to see us just the other day. David, who continues a stout and vociferous conservative, a Princeton education notwithstanding, was the first American to be elected president of the (British) Cambridge Union. He is still flushed with his victory in the final debate of the year—the president's debate—in which he successfully defended the proposition: "Resolved, to be born an American is to be a winner in God's lottery." □

LETTERS

(Continued from page 1328)

House (Nixon's sweet revenge on the American people), and unlike all the candidates for 1976 (even Reagan would need some tutoring), Clare Boothe Luce obviously understands the despotic character of Communism, whether of the Leninist-Stalinist, Maoist, Titoist, or Berlinguerist variety. With her in the office of Chief Executive, I might even enjoy being called a senior citizen.

Long Beach, N.Y. JOSEPH H. DUNNER

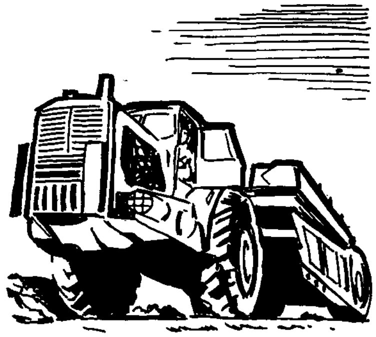
The only flaw in Clare Boothe Luce's article on Italy and the Communists is her failure to mention that the Victor Emmanuel monument in Rome is not only the biggest, but also the ugliest in the Western world.

New York, N.Y. THOMAS MOLNAR

I believe that Clare Boothe Luce missed the point of the delightful Napoleon anecdote she related in her portion of the article "Coalition in Italy?" When Napoleon accuses *all* Italians of being thieves,

To the man who, or business which, labors with honor, integrity, and pride in the quality of his work, money is a "by product" of his labors and not an "end product."

NALVEN & NALVEN, INC.
One Sheraton Plaza
New Rochelle, New York 10801
TELEPHONES:
NE 6-2488 • LO 9-7100 (N.Y.)



J.D. EVANS EQUIPMENT COMPANY

Sioux Falls, Rapid City, Omaha

•

Distributor for
TEREX DIVISION OF GENERAL MOTORS
Construction Equipment

the Neopolitan signora replies, "Non tutti, ma la *buona parte*." Actually, by this remark, she is making a deft, backhanded reference to the Little Corporal himself, through the vehicle of a devastating pun: *buona parte*=Bonaparte. Napoleon, being of Corsican ancestry, had more than a little Italian blood flowing in his veins and therefore was the real thief the quick-witted signora was referring to.

Chicago, Ill. MIKE BUCK

Thanks to Mr. Buck, and all the other readers who wrote in, for their quick-wittedness; but no thanks for assuming that Mrs. Luce did not know what of course she does know. The fault lies in NR*'s having inserted a translation; we had hoped that the italics (Mrs. Luce's italics) would still carry the point, but evidently the translation proved too distracting.*—LB

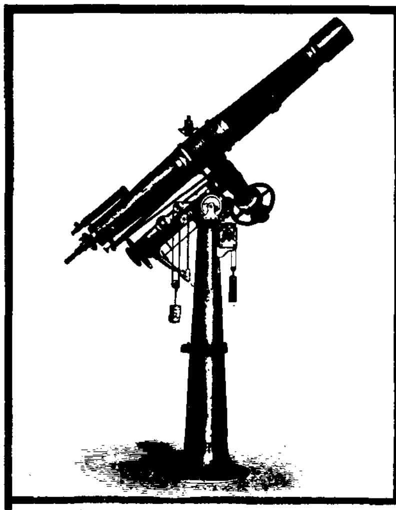
Right Tree, Wrong Branch

Your editorial "The Right to Paddle" [Nov. 7] is barking up the right tree, but the wrong branch.

It was necessary for the Supreme Court to step in and affirm the lower court's decision, which it did, because at least half a dozen other federal judges had ignored the Tenth Amendment and entered judgments enjoining corporal punishment as unconstitutional. They had to be straightened out.

Boston, Mass. FRANKLIN N. CUNNINGHAM

(Continues on page 1435)



On the Lookout for a Really Good Speaker?

You can select the best from Catherine Babcock, Inc.

You know how important a good speaker can be to your meeting, but locating the right speaker isn't always that easy. Here's how to solve that dilemma—let Catherine Babcock handle the speaking arrangements for your next meeting whether it be social, business, civic, student or political. You can choose from this roster of well-known conservatives:

- William A. Rusher
- Russell Kirk
- M. Stanton Evans
- Jeffrey Hart
- Ernest van den Haag
- D. Keith Mano
- Robert K. Dornan
- Peter P. Witonski
- David Brudnoy
- J. Daniel Mahoney
- Cornelius J. Troost
- John Kiley
- F. Clifton White
- Lev Navrozov

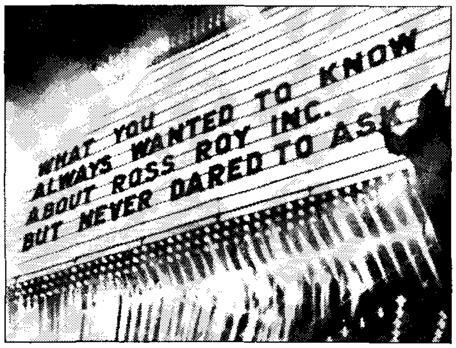
You'll never have to worry about a dull meeting or poor attendance when you use speakers of this calibre. All you have to do is tell us the name of your organization and when your meeting is scheduled. We'll take care of the rest. Write today to:

Catherine Babcock, Inc., 544 Southside Rd., Virginia Beach, Va. 23451

To many more years of success in your effort to preserve the realistic American way.

MALOY
Construction Co., Inc.
P.O. Box No. 76
Londonville, N.Y. 12211

OUR TELL-IT-LIKE-IT-IS FOLDER IS NOW A MAJOR MOTION PICTURE.*


WHAT YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT ROSS ROY INC. BUT NEVER DARED TO ASK

(Would you rather read it or see it?) Actually, it only takes about two minutes either way—unless you take time out for a chuckle or two.

Because the plot develops pretty fast.

It's about a teleologically oriented motivations apparat, Ross Roy Inc., which is us. As you meet us—and our 450 busy people—we have just topped the $95-million billing mark. We take you on a whirlwind tour of Detroit, New York, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Saginaw, Windsor and Toronto . . . all the places from which we serve our over 50 clients.

It's a mind-boggling experience.

And we think you'll even learn something... about an advertising agency that's built on a different sort of philosophy. You see, we really believe that communication with the people who sell your stuff is just as important as communication with the people who buy it!

Sounds screwy, doesn't it; but wouldn't it be worth two minutes of your time to see how it works. Just call John Pingel and tell him whether you'd rather read or look-and-listen.

Either way, we promise not to bug you afterwards.

*Rated "G"

ROSS ROY INC.
2751 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Michigan 48207
Also: New York, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Saginaw, Windsor, Toronto

Classified Advertisements

Situations Wanted

FOUR VIETNAMESE fluent in English, seek employment.

1. Miss Le Thi Le-Chi: B.S. in English, French, and Library Science, author, and Chief Librarian in Vietnam.

2. Mr. Le Xuan Dinh: Col. Dinh was Chief of Administration of General Staff of ARVN. Experienced manager.

3. Mr. Duong Chi Thanh: B.S. Civil Engineering. Staff member of Public Works in Saigon.

4. Mr. Le Duc Duu: Author, journalist, radio commentator in Vietnam and U.S.

For further details please write NR Box 1948.

CONSERVATIVE, PHILOSOPHY LECTURER, 32, college teaching experience, PhD expected by summer, enthusiastic about any college position. Write NR Box 1986.

SPEECHWRITER, experienced newsman, administrator on Capitol Hill. Seeking private sector job, salary upper 20's. Write NR Box 1987.

Employment Opportunities

SINGLE MAN, CATHOLIC with teaching and administrative experience, to coordinate religious education program for youth of Catholic city parish in Alaska. Must be mature, dedicated, and accept prolonged commitment. Salary and expenses negotiable. References expected. Write NR Box 1975.

YOUR RESUME. Write it yourself. Instructions, samples, forms: $3.00. Resume Company, Dept. R, 359 Jersey Ave., Fairview, N.J. 07022.

WRITER WANTED who can handle newsletter-style reporting for conservative Catholic publication; experience unnecessary only if ability considerable. Apply Box 19, National Review, 150 E. 35 Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Education

TRADITIONAL CATHOLIC COLLEGE. Thomas Aquinas College offers classical liberal education, orthodox Catholic theology, and a Christian community of learning. It is characterized by serious intellectual discipline, close personal relationships, and hard work. Classics from Aristotle to Einstein replace textbooks; seminars replace lectures; a required four year curriculum replaces the elective system. The college is co-educational. For information write to: Mr. D. C. Koller, Thomas Aquinas College, 26812 W. Mulholland Hwy., Calabasas, Calif. 91302.

NOTE: Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address: Classified Department, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: 65¢ per word, minimum 10 words, plus $1.50 for box number. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 25 days before publication date.

TEACHERS—ADMINISTRATORS Current school, college openings list in U.S. $5.95. Abroad $5.95. Leading placement sources U.S. $3.95. Foreign $4.95. EISK Box 662, Newton, Mass. 02162.

Literary

BOOK SEARCHING: All subjects. Lists mailed. REGENT HOUSE, 108 N. Roselake, Los Angeles, Calif. 90026.

OUT OF PRINT SEARCH SERVICE: Write us for that favorite title or needed source. BOOKLORE, 89 Lake Drive East, Wayne, N.J. 07470.

Real Estate

RENT-NEWLY FURNISHED town house, 2 bedrooms, 2 baths. Boat-basin, Golf Course, Pool, Tennis. On Intercoastal at Ormond Beach (Daytona), January and February open. Reasonable. Box 427, Liverpool, N.Y. 13088.

ADVISOR AND FINDER for Arizona investment properties. Orme Lewis Jr., 4350 East Camelback Road, Suite 220E, Phoenix, Ariz. 85018. (602) 959-3949.

For Sale

BURTON HARPSICHORDS — Fine and lasting musical instruments in kit form. Patented Burton Jacks. Write Box 80222NR, Lincoln, Neb. 68501 for free brochure.

BRIGADIER. Gentleman's Game of Warfare. $4.95 complete. Blankenship Products, Box 1222 (N), Harrisburg, Pa. 17108.

Miscellaneous

EXPLORE THE DELIGHTFUL inland waterways of Europe aboard your OWN 78-foot steel canal boat. $50,000. (612) 475-2309.

INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT. Founded 1961. Consulting-Investment Planning — Portfolio Management. Minimum account one million dollars. Peter B. Roll, Inc., Box 566, Locust Valley, N.Y. 11560.

DISPLAY STICKER: "These Premises Protected, Automatic Alarm System." $1.00, 3 for $2.00. Lynch, Box 4654, Springdale, Conn. 06907.

DON'T GET THAT DIVORCE! Send $1.00 for "Wife—90% of the Fault." Priority Assoc., Box 1211, El Dorado, Ark. 71730.

CHRISTOCENTRIC ASTROLOGY. Natal and progressed horoscope $25. Full refund if not satisfied. Send date, time, place of birth, and check or money order to L. H. Phoebus, P. O. Box 2295, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93102.

LONELY? Make new friends. Write NR 2, Pen Pals, Box 415, Kansas City, Mo. 64141.

"SELF-TEACHING" MUSIC COURSE! Learn to play the piano or organ at home in weeks with Revolutionary new music notation discovery from Europe! First improvement in written music in over 500 years. Play all classical and popular music. Complete course only $29.50, "Moneyback Guarantee" (specify instrument) or send 25¢ for "Demonstration Lesson." KLAVAR-America, Box 554, Norcross, Ga. 30071.

BALDING? Mr. Rogers at 75 grew hair, others too, ending scalp problems. Ask proof, kit, $18. International Laboratories, P.O. Box 41-4176, Miami Beach, Fla. 33141.

MEET YOUR IDEAL MATE, computerized matching, nationwide, low fee. Free questionnaire. "Team," 1270 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

DATES GALORE! Meet singles—anywhere. Call DATELINE, toll-free (800) 451-3245.

BE YOUR OWN Winegrower in a small way. We furnish the right grapevines. Catalog. Boordy Vineyards Nursery, Riderwood, Md. 21139.

SELF-HELP CASSETTES, Books, for emotionally-spiritually troubled persons by psychiatrist-author (Loving and Curing the Neurotic). Send stamped, self-addressed envelope to Conrad Baars, M.D., 255 Hill Street, Whitinsville, Mass. 01588.

CONSERVATIVE BOOKS and Cassettes send for free catalog. Home Consumers, Inc., Box 372, Piscataway, N.J. 08854.

TURN YOUR BUSINESS Cards into Luggage Tags. Distinctive. Durable. Airlines now require identification on all checked baggage. Enclose both one card and $1.50 for each tag. GNP Products, Box 16112A, St. Louis, Mo. 63105.

U.S. STAMPS-Plate Blocks, with no. 1953-67; 52-3¢ 85-4¢ and 67-5¢. Asking $140. Will deal separately on 3-5¢ plate blocks with tagging errors. Ed Mitchell, 1010 Valerie Circle, Santa Fe, N.M. 87501. (505) 982-5231.

FREE! AMERICA'S LARGEST CLASSICAL CATALOG. Over 2,000 New Stereo Recordings, Renaissance, Medieval, Baroque, Classical, Romantic, Modern Music. Highest quality! Budget Label prices! Available only by mail. MUSICAL HERITAGE SOCIETY, Box 932NW, New York, N.Y. 10023.

DO NOT HUM A TUNE BEFORE STRANGERS. Rules of Etiquette, 1860, illustrated. $2.25 plus 25¢ postage. Write NR Box 1971.

PATRIOTIC NAME BADGES: Stars and Stripes. Bi-colored. Pressure sensitive. Peelable. $3.50 per 100. Name Badges, Box 7067, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33734.

FREE RECORD ALBUM CATALOG low prices—"MANY GOODIES"—Shows, Soundtracks, Jazz, Nostalgia, Classical, Variety. Treasury House, Dept. A, P.O. Box 165, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11235.

WE UNDERWRITE TENANT HOMEOWNERS, theft and fire insurance. Contact John J. Griffin, Nationwide Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Columbus, Ohio, 45 Ingram Street, Forest Hills, N. Y. 11375. Telephone (212) 268-1155.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[JOHN L.] MCCLELLAN:

[Crime] Without Punishment.

Congressional investigations are designed to provide studies and gather information that will aid in drafting legislation necessary to correct the faults in existing statutes and to define additional crimes and fix penalties therefor.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 1433)

Aux Barricades

Re: Russell Kirk's excellent column "Textbooks as Brainwashers" [Oct. 24]: Delete—immediately—from the list of acceptable unsexist terms "entrepreneur." It has a masculine ending and all *entrepreneuses* will surely take great exception. As a matter of fact, what ever shall we do with those sexist foreign languages which dare to classify nouns as masculine or feminine? NOW, there's a problem for you to solve!

New York, N.Y. LENORE LEWIS ABELS

Quibbles

In the September 26 issue, George Will makes an error that is common among you city folk—he says "bullet" when he means "cartridge." You see, the bullet is the inert projectile that is part of the cartridge, but the thing you've got to load into the firearm is the cartridge.

This error we expect in second-rate journals such as *Time* (which never disappoints by getting it right). Perhaps *NR* can be educated to higher standards. I am hopeful.

Laramie, Wyo. DAVID K. OVERMIER

Here's a Caulker

"One Anthony Maloney corks off in a Carmel, California motel room" ["A Frozen Moore," D. Keith Mano, Sept. 26]. Is that the way one spells it now, phonetically? It used to be caulk, meaning to caulk a seam in the deck of a ship.

The seaman operated on a canvas mat on which he kept his materials and by which he kept the deck clean while he worked. Sometimes he took a nap on the caulking mat—hence the expression "to caulk off"—pronounced "cork off," at least by seamen, although that is not the way stuffy *Random House Dictionary* pronounces it.

So, "cork off" my eye! One expects closer adherence to tradition in NATIONAL REVIEW, even in matters as far afield from *NR*'s customary materials as caulking mats.

Oakland, Calif. ROBERT BLAKE

THANKS
for 20 Years of
CONSERVATIVE
REPORTING

Armstrong Smith
PAINTS

Conserving &
Preserving
The South's
Heritage

✻ ✻ ✻ ✻

Wm. Armstrong Smith Co.
2675 Martin Street
East Point, Georgia 30344
President
W. ARMSTRONG SMITH

If You Love Words,
you'll love **VERBATIM,** The Language Quarterly dealing with all aspects of language. Send $2.50 (N. Amer.) or $3.00 (overseas) for a one-yr. subscription, starting with the current issue. Money back if not pleased.
VERBATIM **POST OFFICE BOX 157N**
ESSEX, CONN. 06426 USA

BETTER TO FILL A POCKET
THAN
A STOCKING

AND EASIER.

The Pocket Oil Game $4.67. For adults and intelligent younger people.

New and timely as the oil news itself, the Pocket Oil Game is clean and compact. Fits in a pocket. Bound like a book, it comes with dice. That's all. No other little pieces to fuss with.

- **Completely New**
- **Puts You In The Shoes of the Oil Man**
- **Gives Insight into a Much-discussed Question**

Pocket Games Div.
COOL-U CORP.
P.O. Box 492
Jacksonville, Fla. 32201

Please send _____ Pocket Oil Games @ $4.67 ea.

Name_____________________

Address___________________

____

NR 12-5 Zip

Quantities of 10 or more $4.00 ea.

WILD

The finest 1975 wild rice at last year's price. Despite flooding that destroyed much of this year's crop, our product is fancy grade at the same $5.90 per pound postpaid price we offered in 1974, for five pound shipments.

For hundreds of years a basic food of Sioux and Chippewa Indians, wild rice is highly nutritious. It also is in very short supply and expensive.

We believe fowl and game lovers—and anyone who wants to add a special touch to their cuisine—deserve this precious grain at a reasonable price. We must charge $6.85 per pound for smaller shipments, but you can buy it at last year's $5.90, if you help us save on postage and handling with orders for five pound shipments.

Wild rice is a very special gift for gourmets, hunters, outdoorsmen. Vacuum-sealed in pouches, each pound is packed in a distinctive muslin bag, with a recipe booklet. (We enclose your card in each gift shipment.)

Send mailing instructions for personal requirements and gifts, with gift names and addresses on separate sheet of paper. Satisfaction guaranteed, or money promptly refunded.

WILD RICE

MINNEHAHA WILD RICE CO. NR
Suite 420 WCCO Radio Building
Minneapolis, Minn. 55402

Please send:
— 5-lb. boxes @ $29.50/box . . $——
(five 1-lb. bags per box)
— 1-lb. boxes @ $6.85/box . . $——
My check enclosed for total: $______
(Remember gift mailing instructions)

Name ____________________

Address __________________

City _____________________

State ______________ Zip ________

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

On The Right

Beware: Common Situsitis

New York, Nov. 20—You are—let us suppose—the head of a company that specializes in the installation of elevators. You employ regularly 35 men and women, and when you have a big job, you go into the market and add to your working force as necessary. Every couple of years, somebody in your organization proposes that the workers unionize. Following strictly the rules prescribed by the National Labor Relations Board, you facilitate a vote on the matter. Every time, the vote has come out heavily against joining the labor union. The collective right not to join has not been challenged anywhere—the majority is supposed to decide on these matters. It is a right that the Congress, with the backing of President Ford, is about to repeal for your company and others like it.

They call it, with an etymological atavism the motives of which I have not been able to trace, the "common situs" bill. Situs is Latin for site, and since they insist on calling it that, I'll go along, just as I call Cassius Clay Muhammad Ali. Under the proposed common situs act, which breezed through the House and through the Senate Labor Committee, and is coming up now on the Senate floor, you and your employees would, in effect, be faced with two choices. Either join the union, or go out of business.

THE REASON IT IS narrowed down to these two choices is that the construction trades are highly organized: the masons, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, bricklayers, etc., though here and there there are exceptions. In 1949, in Denver, a firm engaged in constructing a building subcontracted the electrical work to a small, non-union firm (remember, since the NLRA, a non-union firm is defined as a firm whose employees don't *want* to join the union, not as a firm whose employees aren't *permitted*, by the employer, to join the union). The trades union council of the other workers threw up a picket line around the entire site—or situs, as the solons denominate it.

Returning to Anglo-Saxon, the contractor fired the subcontractor, pursuant to the capitalist ethic that profit comes first. But the subcontractor sued before the National Labor Relations Board, which ruled that he was entirely correct: the contractor didn't have a legal right to fire him, because the Taft-Hartley Act prohibits secondary boycotts against different employers engaged in different activity. Under that act, if, let us say, the meatworkers union strikes against a McDonald's hamburger stand, the electrical workers at Con Ed can't strike against the generating facility that furnishes light to the hamburger stand.

The Supreme Court absentmindedly confirmed the NLRB in 1951, and ever since then it has been the dream of the construction unions to get legislation passed that would exempt them from the secondary boycott ban of the Taft-Hartley Act. Presumably because construction workers, though their rhetoric is usually Democratic, are mostly Republicans under the skin, even Eisenhower and Nixon backed the common situs exemption which would permit the Denver situation. Mr. Ford, alas, is not disposed to take what they call an "anti-union stand" (it is really nothing of the sort: it is a pro-freedom-of-choice stand). He has coated the pill for conservatives by coming up with a complicated, syndicalist-sounding plan devised by his Labor Secretary John Dunlop, which would set up a board of ten of us, ten of them, plus Dunlop and Shirley Temple and one androgynous labor mediator, to attempt to reconcile differences between contractors and unions if a strike threatens.

The fact of the matter is that a critical American liberty is about to be removed from the scene. Since it is not fashionable to talk about our evanescing liberties, one might put it this way. The construction business, which does $130-billion worth of activity in America every year, is highly depressed, and it is highly depressed in part because costs are astronomical. To introduce at this economic moment a piece of legislation which will 1) make it easier for a single union to close down an entire construction project, and 2) put pressure on non-union and freelance laborers to organize and in many cases raise costs, which 3) will be passed along to the consumer, which 4) will lessen the demand for construction, which 5) will increase unemployment, is—a costly way to sate union pride. ☐

A CONNALLY AMENDMENT

New York, Nov. 16—I have read, or listened to, at this point, analyses by 32 commentators of the meaning of President Ford's reshuffling last week, and all of them, and this one makes 33, ascribe primarily political motives to the entire transaction. I simplify now, but the arguments are in fact reducible roughly as follows: 1) GF has to get rid of Schlesinger because Schlesinger and Kissinger are on a collision course, and K is more valuable than S given his immense prestige. 2) Congress and the critics of CIA have got to have a victim, or else they will think GF insensitive to the crimes of CIA; wherefore, Colby has to go. 3) The approach of Reagan requires that a couple of vice presidential alternatives should be catapulted into public view, or else R will get it by default: so bring Bush back from China, and send Rumsfeld over to the Defense Department, where he can be photographed with not typewriters and clerks in the background but nuclear battleships. 4) Let Rockefeller go without a fight—he has taken the hints like a gentleman. That will take some steam out of Reagan . . . And so forth.

When all this happened, and the most obvious people had been found by Walter Cronkite and Barbara Walters and the *Washington Post* and Associated Press, the time came to get comments from second-echelon people, so someone put in a call to John Connally. Guess where he was? In New Hampshire. Conferring with Governor Thomson. He did not say anything novel about the political meaning of the reshuffle. But he did reiterate a proposal he has been advancing in speeches around the country. It does not deter me, in endorsing the proposal, that I made it myself in a book published two years ago. Surely there was never a better time to dwell on the advantages of a constitutional amendment that would limit the President to a single six-year term?

The tragedy of Nixon—never mind, for a moment, Mr. Ford's problems—would certainly have been averted had such an amendment been in force. All that was especially ugly about Watergate and its surrounding implications bore on the compulsive desire by Mr. Nixon for—re-election. Re-election becomes a compulsion. All of reality is subsumed to that goal. And so natural is it thought by others that the President should seek re-election that people whose instincts are entirely normal, whose sense of the hierarchy of values is highly refined, get swept up by the ultramontanist passion to—re-elect the incumbent. If one were calmly to ask the question, in a roomful of Republican supporters of Mr. Ford, whether in fact someone else might not do a better job as Chief Executive, one would be treated as if having suggested the retirement of Louis XIV to the Petit Trianon.

This would pass, under the Connally Amendment, and its passing would I think prove a great blessing for the Republic. The standard argument against it is that the American people should not be prevented from renewing the mandate for their Chief Executive. But in fact they were prevented from doing so by a tradition established by George Washington; a tradition written into the Constitution after Franklin Roosevelt: two terms, no more. It is said that six years is an infinity if you find you have a bad President after the first year, and have to wait another five years to get rid of him. Comment: A bad President can be substantially immobilized by the Congress; and anyway, at least you are certain he will be removed in five years. No matter how bad he is, he might, through his public appeal and through the canny exercise of his powers, effect his re-election for another four years. In any event, you are talking only about an additional two years, and we are trading off those two years against the organization of public policy and the resources of the Executive for the sole purpose of effecting re-election.

Why does Mr. Ford want so very badly to be re-elected President? He did not aspire to the Presidency. He never entered a state primary. His ambitions were entirely within the House of Representatives, where he functioned extremely well. He is not surrounded by barbarians so that, like Cincinnatus dropping his plough with a sigh, he must take up arms and lead his country. And yet all of America is harnessed to an ambition which is entirely personal. Mr. Ford is a good man, with the right instincts, a better intelligence than he is given credit for, and he is a quintessential American. But his accession was something of an accident, and the insistence on his renomination is deemed a closed question by minds that would be liberated, the better to perform for their country, by the passage of the Connally Amendment. □

JUST CALL ME BILL

New York, Nov. 14—Very soon I will be fifty, a datum I do not expect will rouse the statisticians, or revive the fireworks industry. I reflect on it only because of a personal problem of general concern I had not solved twenty years ago, the nature of which keeps . . . changing, as you grow older. It is, of course, the first-name problem.

My inclinations on the matter have always been formal. In part this was a matter of inheritance. I heard my father, days before his death at 78, refer to his best friend and associate of forty years as "Montgomery"; who, in deference to the ten-year difference in their ages, referred to him only as "Mr. Buckley." I grew up mistering people, and discovered, after I was fully grown (if indeed that has really happened), that in continuing to do so, I was bucking a trend of sorts: the obsessive egalitarian familiarity which approaches a raid on one's privacy.

So on reaching thirty, I made a determined effort to resist. Even now, on the television program *Firing Line*, I refer even to those guests I know intimately as "Mr. Burnham," or "Governor Reagan," or "Senator Goldwater." (This rule I simply had to break on introducing Senator Buckley, but the departure from the habit was stylistically troublesome.) The effort, I thought, was worthwhile—a small gesture against the convention that requires you to refer to Professor Mortimer Applegate as "Mort" five minutes after you have met. Jack Paar would have called Socrates "Soc."

I came on two difficulties. The first was the public situation in which mistering somebody was plainly misunderstood. Or, if understood at all, taken as an act of social condescension. For a couple of years I would refer, on his program, to "Mr. Carson." In due course I discovered that the audience thought I was trying to put on an act: Mr. Carson does not exist in America. Only Johnny does.

The second problem, as you grow older, lies in the creeping suspicion of people a little older than yourself that your use of the surname is intended to accentuate an exiguous age difference. If you are 18 and the other man is 28, you can, for a while, call him Mr. Jones without giving offense. But if you are forty and he is fifty and you call him Mr. Jones, he is likely to think that you are rubbing in the fact of his relative senescence.

The complement of that problem, which I fear more than anything except rattlesnakes and detente, is trying to be One of the Boys. "Just call me Bill," to the roommate of your son at college, is in my judgment an odious effort to efface a chronological interval as palpable as the wrinkles on my face, and the maturity of my judgment. On the other hand, one has to struggle to avoid stuffiness: so I arrived, for a while, at the understanding that I was Mister to everyone under the age of 21, or thereabouts, and only then, cautiously, Bill. It is a sub-problem how to break the habit. Here I made a sub-rule: that I would invite younger people to call me "Bill" exactly one time. If thereafter they persisted in using the surname, well that was up to them: a second, redundant gesture on my part could be interpreted as pleading with them to accept me as a biological equal.

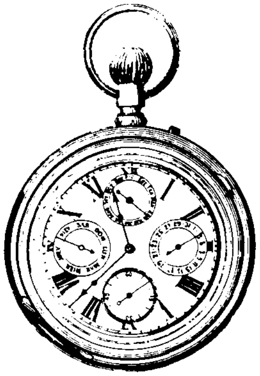
My bias, on the whole, continued in the direction of a tendency to formality, so in the last few years I made a determined effort to overcome it, wherein I came across my most recent humiliation. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher was my guest on *Firing Line*. Rather to my surprise, the English being more naturally formal than we are, halfway through the program she suddenly referred to me, once, as "Bill." I declined to break my *Firing Line* Rule, and so persisted with "Mrs. Thatcher." However, the next day when we met again at a semi-social function, I braced myself on leaving and said, "Good-bye, Margaret." And a week later, writing her a note congratulating her on her performance, I addressed it: "Dear Margaret."

Today I have from her a most pleasant reply, about this and that. But it is addressed, in her own hand (as is the British habit: only the text is typed): "Dear Mr. Buckley." Shocked, I looked at the transcript—only to discover that, on the program, she was talking about a "Bill" that lay before the House of Commons. The trauma has set me back by years, and I may even find myself addressing "Mr. Carson" next time around. I suppose, though, that at fifty, the problem becomes easier in respect of the 25-year-olds. At seventy it will be easier still. Well before then, I hope to be able to address Margaret, I mean Mrs. Thatcher, as Madam Prime Minister. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

CONGRATULATIONS
NATIONAL
REVIEW

KANSAS
Paint and Color Co., Inc.
132 No. Mosley
Wichita, Kansas 67202



Happy Twentieth Anniversary N R

* * *

TCI, Inc.
Benson, Minnesota 56215

SILENCE IS DEADLY.

When someone drinks too much and then drives, it's the silence that kills. Your silence.

It kills your friends, your relatives, and people you don't even know. But they're all people you could save.

If you knew what to say, maybe you'd be less quiet. Maybe fewer people would die.

What you should say is, "I'll drive you home." Or, "Let me call a cab." Or, "Sleep on my couch tonight."

Don't hesitate because your friend may have been drinking only beer. Beer and wine can be just as intoxicating as mixed drinks.

And don't think that black coffee will make him sober. Black coffee never made anyone sober. Maybe it would keep him awake long enough to have an accident. But that's about all.

The best way to prevent a drunk from becoming a dead drunk is to stop him from driving.

Speak up. Don't let silence be the last sound he hears.

FRIENDS DON'T LET FRIENDS DRIVE DRUNK.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION • NATIONAL HIGHWAY TRAFFIC SAFETY ADMINISTRATION

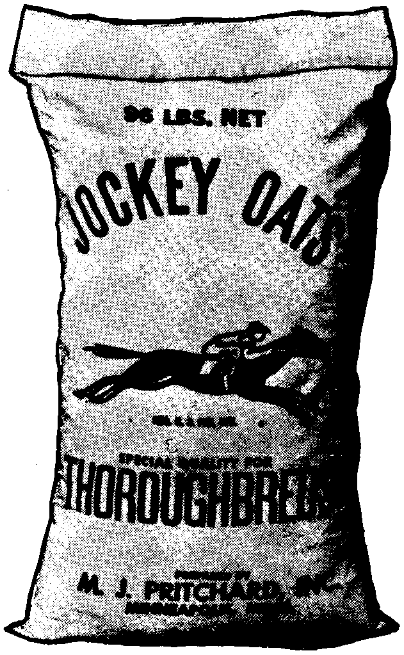
Congratulations to NR

On its
20th Anniversary.

We belong to that group who, despite its sensibilities toward truth, honesty, scholarship, and good writing, still manage to muddle through to survive. Its sensibilities are most often accommodated by NR.

Mr. & Mrs. Julius J. Fernbach
and
Mrs. Rose Dreier

There Are Times When You Just Can't Afford to be Conservative



Quality isn't expensive . . . it's priceless!

M•J•PRITCHARD, INC.
GRAIN EXCHANGE BUILDING • MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55415 • (612) 335-8873

THE

university

The University Bookman is a quarterly edited by Russell Kirk. Each issue is devoted to the restoration and improvement of the standards of higher education in America. Most of the articles for this quarterly concentrate on two topics: the reviewing of university and college textbooks; and the sensible criticism of educational theory and practice today. Every **National Review** subscriber, living in the U.S.A., gets **The University Bookman** free. Others may subscribe at $2.00 a year. Subscriptions and editorial correspondence should be sent to:

bookman

The University Bookman, P. O. Box 3070, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017

Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A.	The course Nixon had to take before visiting Communist China	3 59 88 125 132 20 140 157 169 100 147
B.	Disreputable	54 114 5 171 111 89 161
C.	The United States will get it in the neck if we give this up	69 90 176 222 152 126 190
D.	The Constitution authorizes one but not the other; both are expensive	185 57 24 66 22 73 87 138 123 84 130 42 150
E.	What many of the dimes John D. Rockefeller gave children went for	207 116 6 211 186 38 159 224
F.	The women's deliberationists want us to quit saying Father Time and Mother — — — — — —	213 8 95 191 115 184
G.	A legal phrase the Supreme Court will probably outlaw eventually	225 208 160 70 50 27 109 168
H.	His we was neither royal nor editorial, nor did he have a tapeworm	33 96 127 167 52 229 221 46 117
I.	One of the nicknames of a politician who led a checkered career	9 25 29 39 79 67 58 85 94 7 34
J.	An organization in which Grenada has 2,000 times the U. S.'s voting strength	72 16 45 68 91 104 107 112 119 153 32 166 180
K.	Celebration of 200 years of "the course of human events" and *National Review*'s majority	201 106 61 75 98 129 172 192 226 12 19 210
L.	Not having or not secured to a boom—used of a sail	113 158 162 105 174 4 10 49 74 136 148
M.	Teach	118 71 11 141 228 188 193 218
N.	A man of rank in the armed forces	145 17 56 101 170 187 219 227 14 110 120 178
O.	This starts in Minnesota and has a wide mouth	18 35 82 86 92 13 21 53 76 64 41 28 44 139
P.	A continent	155 144 183 97 77 55
Q.	Makes requital for	173 78 102 60 205 99
R.	Carry these with you when you stay in a hotel	181 194 128 149 164
S.	To imagine something true or likely	23 133 154 177 80 121 214
T.	A bureaucrat might have a red one	26 134 189 179 30 15 195 216
U.	Originator	51 163 122 47 143 196
V.	CAD PANTED	93 165 217 231 203 36 204 215 81
W.	A cosmetic item that a private detective might use	131 83 230 156 103 209 37 197 1
X.	Depressing uniformity	233 151 175 212 135 220 206 202
Y.	One of the main characters in *The Prince and the Pauper*	2 137 43 63 124 198
Z.	The inhabitants of this dwelling are there because they're outnumbered!	31 182 48 142 232 223 108 199
a.	Sycophant	40 65 146 200 62

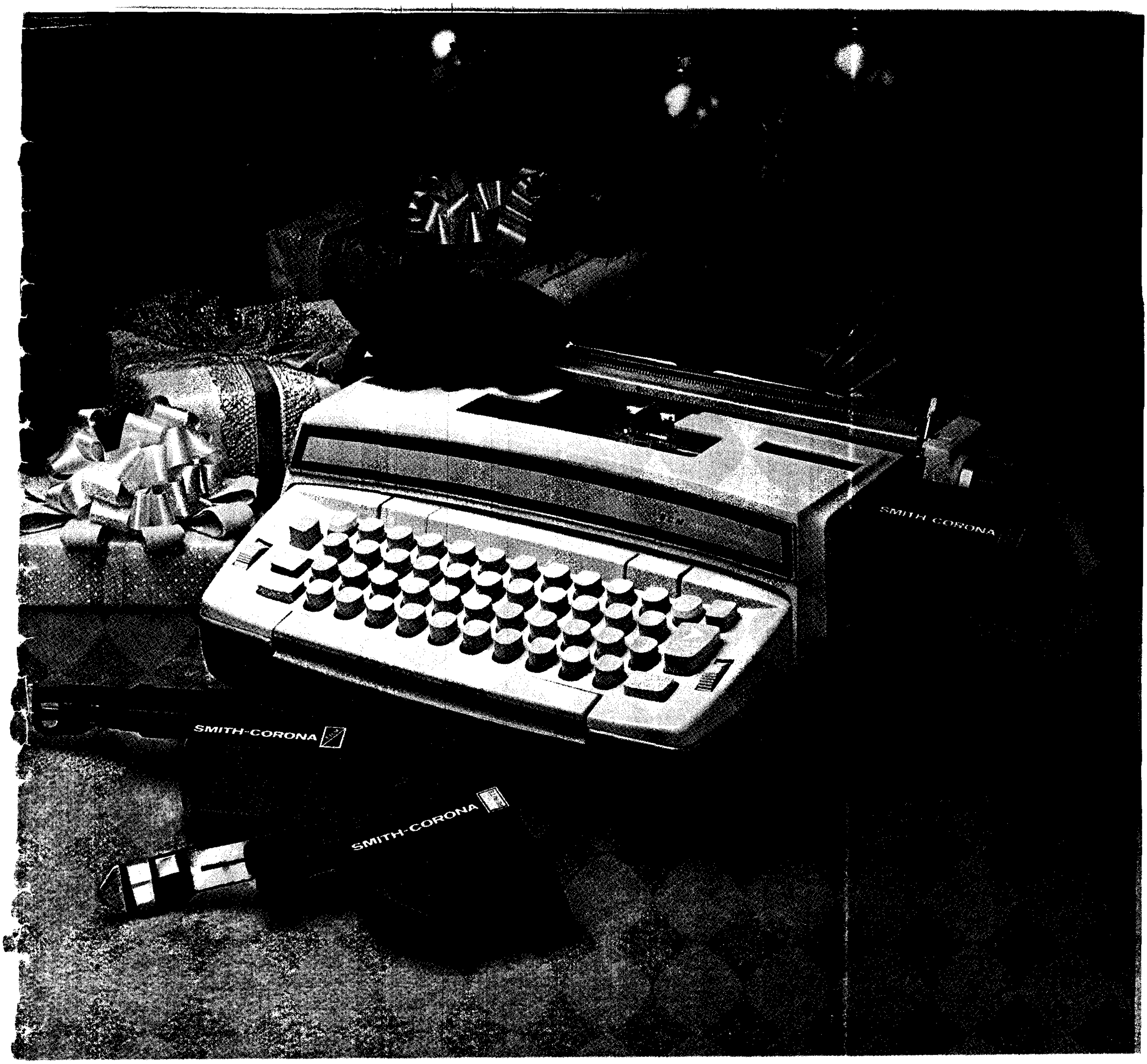
DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 1434 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

The quotation was written in 1955.

▨	1 W	2 Y	▨	3 A	4 L	5 B	6 E	7 I	▨	8 F	▨	9 I	10 L	11 M	12 K	13 O	14 N	15 T	16 J
▨	17 N	18 O	19 K	20 A	▨	21 O	22 D	23 S	▨	24 D	25 I	26 T	▨	27 G	28 O	29 I	30 T	31 Z	▨
32 J	33 H	34 I	▨	35 O	36 V	37 W	38 E	39 I	▨	40 a	41 O	42 D	▨	43 Y	44 O	45 J	46 H	47 U	48 Z
▨	49 L	50 G	▨	51 U	▨	52 H	53 O	54 B	55 P	56 N	57 D	58 I	59 A	60 Q	61 K	62 a	▨	63 Y	▨
64 O	65 a	66 D	67 I	68 J	69 C	70 G	71 M	▨	72 J	73 D	74 L	75 K	76 O	77 P	78 Q	79 I	80 S	81 V	▨
82 O	83 W	▨	84 D	85 I	86 O	▨	87 D	88 A	89 B	90 C	91 J	92 O	93 V	94 I	95 F	96 H	97 P	98 K	99 Q
▨	100A	101N	▨	102Q	103W	▨	104J	105L	▨	106K	107J	▨	108Z	109G	110N	111B	112J	113L	▨
114B	115F	116E	117H	118M	119J	120N	121S	122U	123D	124Y	125A	▨	126C	127H	128R	129K	130D	131W	132A
133S	134T	135X	136L	137Y	▨	138D	139O	▨	140A	▨	141M	142Z	143U	144P	145N	146a	147A	148L	▨
149R	150D	151X	152C	153J	154S	155P	156W	▨	157A	158L	▨	159E	▨	160G	161B	162L	163U	164R	165V
166J	167H	▨	168G	169A	170N	171B	172K	173Q	174L	175X	176C	▨	177S	178N	179T	180J	181R	182Z	183P
184F	▨	185D	186E	187N	188M	189T	190C	▨	191F	192K	193M	194R	195T	196U	197W	198Y	199Z	200a	▨
201K	202X	▨	203V	▨	204V	205Q	206X	207E	208G	209W	210K	▨	211E	212X	213F	214S	215V	216T	217V
218M	▨	219N	220X	221H	▨	222C	223Z	224E	225G	226K	▨	227N	228M	229H	230W	231V	232Z	233X	▨



This Christmas help a student with his homework.

Give him the Smith-Corona Cartridge Ribbon Typewriter.

Keeping up with all there is to learn today is a tough assignment for any student. The Smith-Corona® Cartridge Ribbon Typewriter can help. It's the world's most advanced electric portable.

For a fresh ribbon all you do is snap in a cartridge.

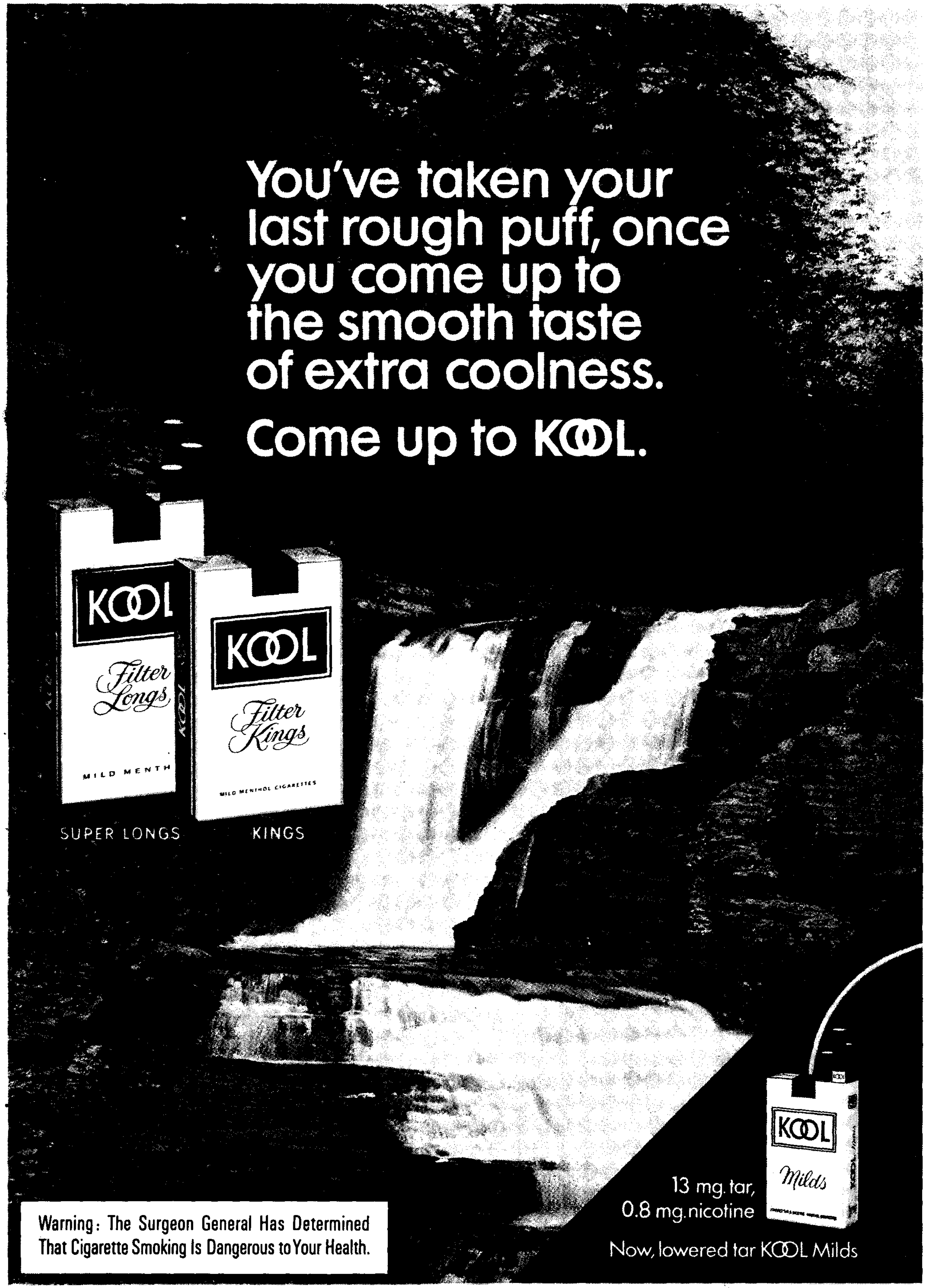
There's a correction cartridge that corrects errors faster than you can say "Ho, ho, ho."

There's a special film cartridge that makes typing look like printing. It's perfect for term papers and reports.

And for adding emphasis there are four color cartridges.

The Smith-Corona Cartridge Ribbon Typewriter. A smart gift for Christmas.

SCM® SMITH-CORONA
SCM CORPORATION


You've taken your last rough puff, once you come up to the smooth taste of extra coolness.
Come up to KOOL.
KOOL
Filter Longs
MILD MENTH
KOOL
Filter Kings
MILD MENTHOL CIGARETTES
SUPER LONGS
KINGS
KOOL
Milds
13 mg. tar,
0.8 mg. nicotine
Now, lowered tar KOOL Milds
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

© B&W T Co.

Milds, 13 mg. "tar," 0.8 mg. nicotine; Kings, 16 mg. "tar," 1.2 mg. nicotine; Longs, 17 mg. "tar," 1.2 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report Apr. '75